



GENESIS OF SIKH - NIRANKARI TUSSLE

by
BHAI HARI SINGH (Shergill),
Editor, 'Punjabi Samachar', Bombay-400011

Published by
DHARAM PARCHAR COMMITTEE
(SHIROMANI GURDWARA PARBANDHAK COMMITTEE)
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INTRODUCTION

This compilation under the above title has got a specific background. The so-called Nirankari Chief Shri Gurbachan Singh, in a camouflage Sikh attire, and his domestic Nirankari Mandal, headquartered in Delhi-9, have been, for quite sometime past, indulging in publicly insulting, ridiculing and downgrading the Sikh religion, the Sikh Gurus, certain time-honoured Sikh personages, usages and traditions, as well as their eternally sacred WORD - INCARNATE ENLIGHTENER, Sri. Guru Granth Sahib.

Despite a number of earlier angry, non-violent protestations of Sikhs against this vulgar and irreligious conduct of his, on more than half a dozen different occasions in Punjab and outside, the '*Nirankari baba*' has been pursuing this irresponsible practice as vigorously as ever.

At last he grew bold enough to beard the lion in his own den. On the 13th April, 1978 on the historical Baisakhi festival, when more or less a million Sikhs gather from far and near to pay homage at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, Gurbachan Singh thought expedient to convene his so-called Nirankari Samagam and repeat his usual blasphemous blurtings and his claim to be the exclusive supreme modern avtar of God of to-day, over the heads of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh and all other time-honoured oriental avtars and sematic prophets.

Indeed, it was the most provocative challenge to the very existence of the Sikh Panth in its holiest citadel. As a consequence, about 150 devoted Sikhs, unarmed and clean of any partisan politics, proceeded from Ajit Nagar premises to persuade him not to indulge in the aforesaid profane behaviour vis-a-vis dignity of the Gurus' house. Instead of acceding to such a persuasion, as if already fully planned and prepared, he

is said to have exhorted personnel of his fully armed private army to attack these protesting Sikhs, even at a distance of about 300 yards from the pandal of his gathering. He was presiding at this gathering in a kingly demeanour, he as the 'King' and his consort as the 'Queen'.

As a result, over a dozen of the Sikh protesters were mowed down in cold blood and about 70 seriously injured. This simple act of sheer murder has naturally sent a thrill of horror throughout the Sikh World.

It is a long standing misfortune of Punjab in general and of the Sikh community in particular that there is quite a lot of hard-boiled communalist Punjabi brethren who are ever on the prowl of seeking or manoeuvring to create all kinds of unsavoury situations, wherein Sikhs could be run down and put to grief.

True to their 'mission', therefore, these communalists seem to have taken it to be a golden chance to deal another grievous blow to the Sikhs, by taking sides with this fake *Nirankari baba*.

These 'friends' of the Sikh Community, seemingly, all the more encouraged by the pro-Nirankari attitude of certain apex men in the Centre have, on the contrary, raised a great dust storm of an anti-Sikh and pro-'*Nirankari baba*' make-believe publicity in the public media and on the platform and through mischievous lobbying among all kinds of influential quarters and on all sorts of important forums.

Some of even the apparently unconcerned responsible people seem to be very much misled by this spurious propaganda. For instance, according to an insertion in the 'Hindustan Times' of 15-6-78, one Mrs. Firdos Fatima, All-India Organiser of World Family is reported to have cabled even to the Secretary-General of U.N.O. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, as follows :

"The Akali Government of Punjab is persecuting Nirankaris in the name of religion. It is a clear case of genocide and suppression of human rights and the lives and liberty of millions of Nirankaris are in danger.

This is how this misleading propaganda by the Culprit-in-Chief the alleged killer of the conscientious Sikh protesters,

together with his anti-Sikh communalist allies in Punjab, is clouding the sense of judgment even of presumably impartial people. Credibility of such a spurious publicity is further reinforced by the much too open pro-Nirankari tilt of some apex dignitaries in the Centre.

Contents of this brochure are, therefore, aimed at :

- (i) exposing the very fraud behind this Sikh-Panth denigrating bogus Nirankari movement,
- (ii) bringing out in hold relief purely anti-Sikh politics involved in this fake religious. Centre-sponsored device to the cheer of Sikh baiters.
- (iii) Providing a factual material to the honest, ignorant people about the current Sikh-Nirankari scuffle.
- (iv) Creating a healthy understanding in honest quarters on this issue in order to promote healthy national cohesion.
- (v) Off-setting the chance of this fraud, polluting the very essence of the sacred moral-cum-spiritual values of ethical Indian heritage.
- (vi) Alerting people of other religions like Hindus, Christianity and Islam also against the blasphemies of Gurbachan Singh treading upon their sanctified prerogatives over the heads of their *artars* and prophets and with no merit whatever of his own, rather heavily weighed down under his demerits, instead.
- (vii) Clarification of the real significance of the much discussed Akal Takht Hukamnama as an instrument for safeguarding the sanctity and values of dharma as such, besides keeping intact the integrity of the Khalsa Panth, by staving off the disruptive activity and influence of these immoral, fake Nirankaris.
- (viii) making out a case for a thorough official inquiry into the activities of this harmful and disintegrating Nirankari Mandal and its Chief and ipso-facto other such post-independence mushroom growth of spurious parasitic cells in the name of religion and spiritualism

with a view to banning them and save the nation from their degrading parasitic and evil depredations.

- (ix) making all the responsible and conscientious citizens and humanity at large aware of what malicious and subtle designs are there on the part of misguided powers—that he and some die-hard communalists in the country to malign and rub off the religio-cultural-cum-political entity of a small but virile patriotic minority like Sikhs, who have stood the country in good stead in various fields of national significance during all these over. 500 years of their existence, with religio-cultural robust potentialities of their faith for an all-round resurgence of India in the modern context.
- (x) Last, though not least, making the exalted stewards of the Sikh Panth now recognise the inevitability of revising and renewing their Panthic strategies, in order to write new equations for the Panth's liaison with the country's destiny and in order to fulfil the destined historic commitment of the Gurus' community as embodied in a memorable Punjabi couplet "*Asin varis han Hind di atma de, puja kiti hai ihdi nihang banke.*" That is to say, "we are the rightful heirs to *Indianism* as we have hitherto selflessly staked our all at the altar of its service, glorification and worship.

Towards these ends follow a brief narration hereafter. A list of contents after this and a number of Appendices A to H, as annexures at the end, are likely to give a clear idea of the contents on points enumerated hereabove.

The author is obliged to the learned authors of the various references consulted in compiling this booklet. Their list is given under paragraph No. 32 in the main narration. The writer is all the more indebted to the Secretary, S.G.P.C., Amritsar, for his very kindly providing to the undersigned all their recently published material on the subject under discussion.

—HARI SINGH (Shergill)

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GENESIS OF SIKH NIRANKARI ~~TESSLE~~

1. Origin of Nirankari Sikh Sect

In the Sikh religious terminology, a Nirankari is a person who believes in the worship of formless God (NIRANKAR). As against Brahminic polytheism, Guru Nanak (1469-1570) believed in and preached this cult, i.e., the glorification and worship of one formless God alone. Among his contemporary spiritual exponents, therefore, he came to be known as NANAK NIRANKARI.

As a matter of fact, Guru Nanak's school of thought was an antithesis of centuries-old Brahminism. To believe in one God alone, to discard Avtar theory, to shun idol worship, to reject caste system, not to practise Brahminic rituals, ceremonies, pilgrimages, to resist evil and socio-political aggression etc. etc., were some of the cardinal points in the Guru's religious doctrine.

The Guru's physical form, after running through ten successors, Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh (1469-1708), came to an end.

In fact, to complete the evolutionary process of ultimately vesting the Guru's eternal authority in the SABDA, the Divine Word (the Gurbani), enshrining the Guru's soul and spirit, and creating the Khalsa in the end as the Guru's physical form, is interpreted by recent research to be the divine design of the Ten Masters.

Guru Gobind Singh, before his demise in Nanded (Maharashtra) in 1708, reposed the spiritual Guruship in the Guru's Word, Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the physical Guruship in the body corporate of the Khalsa Panth, to ever keep implementing the Guru's mission. The latter were to act in conformity with the spiritual dictates of Sri Guru Granth Sahib in all the religio-temporal affairs for all time to come.

2. Nirankari Movement

As it usually happens in case of almost all the religious denominations, by about the beginning of the last century, very many followers of Sikh religion, under the recurring influence of centuries-old Brahminism, began to relapse into Brahminic ways again, as now too to some extent.

They began to worship Brahminic gods and goddesses and their idols, practise the same old rituals, rites and ceremonies in mundane matters, indulge in pilgrimages, and take to all sorts of personal gurus in place of Sri Guru Granth Sahib.

3. Baba Dyal's Resuregence Campaign

In the midst of such an un-Sikh like deteriorating environments appeared Baba Dyal (1783-1855), the reformist. Born to devout Sikh parents in Peshawar, he subsequently shifted to Rawalpindi to preach his gospel of reforms. Of course, he had to face a stiff opposition from the misled renegades in the beginning. In a vigorous bid to reclaim such Sikhs back to the Guru's fold in respect of all the above noted Sikh credentials, he launched a full-blooded, organised re-formist movement. It came to

be called the Nirankari movement as the Baba would always repeat the words 'Dhan Nirankar' (i.e., Hail the Formless God).

As against the personal gurus, he emphasised on following Sri Guru Granth Sahib as the only and the eternal Enlightener. As said above, he condemned and discarded the Brahminic rituals, rites and ceremonies and follow those as prescribed in Sikhism, instead.

4. Code of Conduct

In the matter of personal socio-religious discipline and code of conduct, no Nirankari member could smoke, drink or use any other intoxicants, not indulge in showy, gaudy and luxurious living, earning one's living by honest means, not to indulge in sex beyond one's wedded spouse. Of course, other items of Sikh religious routine, like early rising, take bath, engage in *simran* i.e. repetition of God's Name, recite Gurbani and attend early morning Kirtan in Gurdwara follow an austere, socially useful, and virtuous life etc. etc., were as well adhered to.

In this way Baba Dayal's Nirankari movement was aimed at restoring Sikh Faith back to its original pristine form. This was the need of the hour for Sikh Faith. Babaji fulfilled it.

5. Baba Dyal's Successors

After Babaji, his welcome organisation still continues, having been stewarded by these equally dedicated stalwarts : Baba Darbara Singh (1814-1870), Baba Rattaji (1830-1909), Baba Gurdit Singh (1869-1947), Baba Hara Singh (1887-1971). After partition,

the Nirankari Darbar shifted its head-quarters to Chandigarh in Sector 21-B. Its present leader is Baba Gurbux Singh, elder brother of Dr. Man Singh Nirankari, one of the front rank Ophthalmic Surgeons in the country.

The whole Sikh community feels indebted to this original Nirankari Sikh Sampardai. It stood the Sikh Panth in good stead during a critical time of religious decadence. The Sikh community as a whole has got respectful regards for it even now.

6. Buta Singh, The Rebel

During Baba Gurdit Singh's time, one Shri Buta Singh in course of time, started contravening the Nirankari religious discipline. Although he was an employee of the Nirankari Darbar, a preacher-cum-Kirtan singer, he took to drinking and other allied social evils. After a few warnings, when he did not mend his ways, he was expelled from and excommunicated by the Darbar.

As all the decent circles in Rawalpindi began to hate and shun him, he ultimately went to Peshawar in his pseudo-Nirankari garb, in search of another bird of the same feather. He picked up at last Shri Avtar Singh (father of the present Nirankari chief, Shri Gurbachan Singh) to be his partner in his future fraudulent design of starting a bogus rival Nirankari organisation. Shri Avtar Singh was then a petty bakeryman in some remote street of Peshawar. But though illiterate he is said to have been sufficiently clever and of the same debauch kind as Buta Singh. He readily agreed to be his (Buta Singh's) follower

and canvass for more followers.

Thus they are said to have both struck a mutually gainful bargain. But inspite of all sorts of tricks and tactics in their pseudo-religious camouflage, they are said to have not cut much ice in respectable Sikh quarters, either in Peshawar or afterwards in Rawalpindi.

7. Buta Singh, A Debauch

Giani Partap Singh, Editor, 'Gian Amrit Monthly' Amritsar and ex-Jathedar, Shri Akal Takht, Amritsar and author of 'Naqli Nirankari' (Punjabi) 5th Edition, on page 37 bottom of his book, mentions a story. It proves that he was a meat-eater-cum-wine addict and a licentious free lancer in sex, as the reader will read more about him further on in this narration.

8. Avtar Singh 'Anointed'

As a result of his debauchery and dissipated life, Buta Singh is said to have died at last a miserable and a tortuous death of syphilis in Kohmari (Pak.) in 1943 (ibid pp. 36-37).

It is stated, when Buta Singh's dead body was being carried to the cremation ground, a man in a lighter vein, garlanded the accompanying Avtar Singh with a garland removed from over the dead body.

In this way Avtar Singh proclaimed himself to be Buta Singh's successor (ibid, p. 39). In fact he assumed the title of a 'spiritual emperor' (Shahenshah) next to Buta Singh, the pervert.

9. Settling Down in Delhi

After partition, this 'shahenshah', together with his meagre family coterie, came down from Rawal-

pindi to Delhi, ultimately to set up his Nirankari colony there. Here he succeeded in course of time in building up an extensive, spurious growth of his 'eat-drink-and-be-merry' sort of a bogus Nirankari Mandal, virtually a family concern. As is indicated down below in this booklet, the Nirankari Mandal flourished, with the Centre's patronage.

10. Creed of Wine and Women

In order to illustrate the point that Buta Singh initiated a fake spiritual cult to breed a permissive society, here are, for illustration sake, a few anecdotes, culled from reliable printed record :

- (i) Giani Partap Singh in his aforesaid publication (p. 37) states, in the words of one Giani Kartar Singh Sarhaddi of Peshawar, as, "Once on the insistence of Avtar Singh, I went to see his guru Buta Singh in an upstairs room in a public lodge in Peshawar. On entering what did I see ? Buta Singh was seated there with a few plates of cooked meat and a wine bottle before him and also an attractively dressed young woman, apparently, of questionable reputation. On seeing all this, I quickly retired from there." Buta Singh was a regular addict of liquor. He used to preach his mission, quite drunk so often ('Nirankari Baha' by Balwant Gargi p. 58). In these people's 'bible', the 'Avtar Bani' (p. 7), Avtar Singh preaches, "God never prohibited any thing in the matter of eating and drinking. Spiritualism has got nothing to do with these trivialities," and so

in case of free sex.

In the 'Nirankari Baba' publication of the Nirankari Mandal, p. 168, it is stated, "Baba Avtar Singh used to sometime distribute whisky to his disciples with his own hands as *prasad*."

- (ii) Dr. Mohan Lal Sandal, President of Sehjdhari Sabha of Amritsar, reproduces a nasty story from the 'Indian Observer' of New Delhi of 22 Oct., 1956. In his recent Punjabi pamphlet, 'Naqli Nirankari Mat' p. 11, Dr. Sandal tells of a Kanpur young refugee girl. She is reported to have stated, "A Kanpur lady disciple of the Nirankari Baba seduced me to accompany her to Delhi for the Baba's *darshan*. I was kept in a hotel for the night in Delhi. The next day she took me in a car to the Nirankari colony and ushered me into the Baba's (Avtar Singh's) presence in his room. The latter, quite drunk at the moment, molested me, i.e. had sex with me."
- (iii) In a dialogue, which Mr. Sandal cites on pp. 11, 12, Mr. Balwant Gargi, in his 'Nirankari Baba' (p. 21, 22), is said to have had with a young lady inmate of the Nirankari campus, the latter is stated to have openly admitted, "I believe in free love : there is no sin in this. In the Nirankari cult, the Baba has absolved us of all sex inhibitions. Such inhibitions are all a humbug. Sex restrictions are a nonsense in our spiritual faith." She is said to have quoted from the ~~Avtar-bani~~ (pp. 214, 245)

in support of her contention.

- (iv) Quoting from p. 131 of 'Yug Purush' a book which describes Avtar Singh as the present day Messiah, Dr. Sandal states on p. 13 that he (Avtar Singh) claimed like this : "When of all the foregone Avtars and prophets, e.g., Lords Rama and Krishna, Jesus Christ, Prophet Mohammed, Guru Nanak etc., God ordained me from heaven to go down to the earth for mankind's deliverance (in (1900) he, (Avtar Singh) had covenanted with Him (God) as under :

"There shall not be any inhibitions for my followers in matters of sex, diet, dress etc."

Dr. Sandal, therefore, asserts the Nirankari Bhawans are dens of vice and debauchery (p. 13). These Bhawans, he further contends, are polluting the traditional spirituomoral tone and tenure of the Indian culture and putting the young boys and girls off the track.

- (v) Dr. Fauja Singh of Punjabi University Patiala, Director of History Faculty, also endorses this view in his folder, entitled, 'Sant Nirankari Dal, a Challenge for Indian Society'. He states (pp. 4, 5 and 6) "The present Nirankari Chief i.e. Shri Gurbachan Singh, live luxuriously and moves about in Mercedes Car. They (Nirankaris) are opposed to any restrictions whether they are on food, liquors, meats and smoking. The '*Baba*' allows a mixed meat diet of pork, beaf, goats etc. together

with wines and liberty in sex relations etc. (Avtar Bani pp. 7, 203). The Sant Nirankari Dal has become a challenge to all right thinking Indians. In the name of spiritualism... all moral values, which are the bedrock of human society, particularly Indian society, have been thrown to the winds. Naturally, this is causing heavy damage to our society, to our whole value system and it is high time that effective steps were taken by the Government as well as by the people to ban all these objectionable activities of the Nirankari."

- (vi) As reported in a Bombay Punjabi Weekly (the Ranjit, Bombay-56, dated 6.8.78, p. 2) in the alleged Amritsar 13.4.78 murder case, against the '*Nirankari Baba*' & Co., an approver is said to have disclosed during police investigation like this, 'During a pleasure dance in a Nirankari Bhawan in which only married disciple couples participate, if a garment of a lady touches any other man or vice-versa, both can retire into a secluded adjoining room to mutually enjoy an uninhibited sex. It is also reported, when the police put this question to the '*Baba*' to testify, he began to weep. Perhaps, because of such awkward police queries, the communalist allies of the '*baba*' and their press had expressed their distress on their '*Baba*'s' harassment by the Punjab police.

By the way, these kinds of unabashed immoral

liberties, it seems, have attracted multitudes of disciples to him. A host of high government officers too, could not be excluded from such a pleasure loving multitude.

(vii) In another recent 4 page Punjabi pamphlet, published by the SGPC and titled "*Nirankari Mat vich shrab kabab di khulh*" (i.e., in the Nirankari cult there is no restriction on meat eating and use of liquors), the author states on the last page "Now in place of the extinct *WAM MARG*, the Nirankari cult has come forward to take its place. It is aimed at creating an immoral society. It is like a cancer on the spiritual body of Indianism."

(viii) In another 4 page Punjabi handbill captioned, 'NIRANKARI TOLE DA PAJ UGHAR GIYA' (i.e. 'Nirankaris have been exposed'), the writer says, "these people have openly propagated debauchery in the name of religion."

Thus, there is now a volume of published prima-facie record to establish that these new blasphemous *Wam margis* (who believe in '*mans, madura, maithan*' cult) are a blot on India's ethical culture, based on spiritual, moral tradition ; they are spreading the cult of permissive society.

11. Sham Spiritualism

They claim that they can impart spiritualism lesson for the vision of God within twinkling of an eye. These charlatans have introduced a ridiculous

jugglery trick to initiate their naïve disciples into spiritualism. The Chief or his approved deputy places his left palm below and the right one at a distance above, before an initiate. They ask the latter to look in between the two palms in the empty space, for a vision of Nirankar, the formless God. And that is all.

What a joke, a fraudulent drama. Is it really so cheap an affair? Indian Rishis, Saints, Tapasvis, and Gurus spent and even now spend, years and years going through hard, rigorous time-honoured, spiritual self-discipline in solitude in order to achieve spiritual excellence.

In contrast, therefore, isn't it a mockery by these people of India's only proud heritage in this field, cumulated through a sustained, well disciplined spiritual labour of ages and ages, by myriads of our sacred land's great spiritual masters? Our 'moralist' Prime Minister, who all the more exults in this rare ancient heritage of India, must put his foot down on such sham activities in the sacred name of spiritualism. It is an insult to the country's spiritual tradition. Isn't it?

12. Blasphemous Claim

The present chief of the Nirankari Mandal, and his late father, Shri Avtar Singh, have been claiming to be the only *avatars* and prophets in the world today since 1900, beginning with the fore-mentioned Eatu Singh, the debauch. They have been asserting that in suppression even of Noah's, Janak's, Lord Rama's, Krishna's, that of Moses, Christ's, Prophet Moham-

mad's, Bhakt Kabir's, Guru Nanak's and Baba Dyal's spiritual prerogatives, exclusive assignment of spiritual leadership of all of them has been now vested in them both, the father and the son, together with their wives.

A photo-stat copy of Shri Gurbachan Singh's general proclamation in this context, addressed some time back to the whole mankind, is reproduced hereunder :

"Gurbachan Singh
Nirankari

Sant Nirankari Mandal
Delhi-9 (India)

My dear Friend,

Please be informed that the responsibility assigned from time to time prophets like Noah, Janak, Rama, Krishna, Moses, Christ, Mohammad, Kabir, Nanak and Dyal, has now been put on my shoulders, by my predecessor, Baba Avtar Singh ji. My duties include revealing God to one and all, irrespective of seekers' caste, creed, culture, nationality or morals. So whosoever will approach me or any of my apostles will instantaneously be gifted with an abiding perception of the omni-present God.

I came also to glorify the holy prophets of the past by revealing their real greatness and decoding their teachings into layman's actual experience. I have no ritual to impose, no particular recitation to prescribe, no penance to subject my disciples to, and no new religion to found. Vegetarianism or non-vegetarianism or this or that political ideology does not stand in my way. My message is for the human being in you and not for a member of any particular

religion or nationality.

I have the entire reservoir of water for the present day thirsty world. You too come and quench your thirst.

Yours eternally,
Sd/- Gurbachan Singh"

(See Appendix-'A')

There is another photo-stat copy of a post card in this context, as reproduced hereunder, written by disciple of the Nirankari Chief, Shri Gurbachan Singh, from Chandigarh. One Mr. Harcharan Singh Nirman, 1313/Sector 15-B, sometime back wrote to fore-mentioned Giani Partap Singh as follows :

"There is one lineage of prophets from Adam to Gurbachan. All holy prophets including Noah, Rama, Moses, John (The Baptist), Christ, Paul, Mohammad, Nanak, Gobind Singh, Dyal and Gurbachan are interlinked in a never broken chain of succession (Nomination by predecessor) and have a total identity of philosophy since Adam. One lineage of prophets discovered by (above-noted) Harcharan Singh Nirman. Enquires welcome". (See Appendix-'B')

Further, in the words of one Mr. Balwant Gargi in the 'Illustrated Weekly of India' Bombay, in its issue of 24 Oct., 1971, p. 23, Shri Gurbachan Singh proclaims," the responsibility assigned from time to time to prophets like Noah, Janak, Rama, Krishna, Moses, Christ, Mohammad, Kabir, Nanak and Dyal, has now been put on my shoulders by my predecessor Baba Avtar Singh."

13. Colossal Ignorance

What a pity ? The man is even ignorant that both in the Oriental and Semetic religions, there is no question of secession to an Avtar or a prophet.

14. 'Avtar Bani', A Fraud

Shri Gurbachan Singh's father, Shri Avtar Singh, was an illiterate person. He is said to have paid a fabulous amount to some third rate Punjabi poets and got done a poor poetic scribbling under the title of 'Avtar Bani'. He prescribed it as the Nirankari religious book. This is also full of such absurd fibs, crudely glorifying Shri Avtar Singh and his son, Shri Gurbachan Singh as the present day exclusive *avtars* and prophets of God. Their wives, Smts. Budhan and Kulwant Kaur, are also similarly deified How preposterously absurd.'

A SYNOPSIS

The comiler of this booklet sometime back had an occasion to glance through the complete 252-pages of the Avtar Bani. The original is a Punjabi publication of 25-10-1965 of the Sant Nirankari Mandal, Sant Nirankari Colony, Delhi-9.

The author indicated is Shri Avtar Singh. But its contents consist of three parts. The first 170 pages with 376 versified pieces, are by Shri Avtar Singh and the next 6 of one running non sensical rhymes are by the 'Mother of Universe' (Jagat Mata), the 'worshipful' (Smt.) Budhawanti Nirankari, spouse of Shri Avtar Singh. The last, 3rd part of 73 pages is a set of 42 compositions by 42 different poet henchmen

followers of the Nirankari Mandal.

As to the poor, crude, nonsensical spirituo-religious and literary quality of the whole text, Prof. Pritam Singh, Head of the Guru Nanak Studies Department of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, has given an able, and objectives review thereof in the Daily Tribune, Chandigarh, in its 25 Sept., 1978 issue, p. 4, for the sake of this brief narration, one can add little more to it.

How it is all a fraud on the conscious and intelligent community, hereunder is the summary of Prof. Pritam Singh's review :

"He (i.e. Avtar Singh) exhorts men not to brother about good and bad and to understand that such practices as five "namazes" per day and other penances only erode the body and serve no other useful purpose. Most of such exhortations are only generalities.

Baba Avtar Singh has a racy, direct, repetitive but unequal style which does not care much for literary embellishments. Judged purely as literature.

"Avtar Bani" may not succeed in commanding any prominent place in Punjabi studies either for the originality of its matter or for its bold experimentation with diction or language, for all of which it draws heavily on Guru Granth Sahib. It is not a book of religious philosophy either, as no consistent original theorretical framework on which an independent and lasting religious structure may be built, is available there.

There is hardly any idea that can be put for-

ward as new. The book rests more on its rejection of the prevalent religions than on its presentation of a fresh or a reorganised thesis, which may be relevant to the times that we live in. The whole idiom of the book is so medieval, in fact so ancient, that one just wonders whether any of the writers of the book lived or lives in our own age at all.

In view of the growth in the number of the followers of Sant Nirankaris, should this extraordinary feature of "Avtar Bani" be interpreted as a tragic bid of our people to escape the contemporary socio-economic impasse?"

15. The Disclaimer

As if out of guilty conscience, Shri Gurbachan Singh, soon after his alleged complicity and abetment in the 13th April, 1978 carnage of Sikhs, has now publicly disavowed his prophethood and other titles to be an exclusive *avtar* of the day and his appellation of even Godhead.

For instance, in addition to his highly costly repeated publicity insertions in the country's Dailies, and Weeklies, English, Urdu, Hindi ones to this effect, he has also distributed in thousands and sent round to all the Punjabi newspapers in the Punjab and outside, a printed leaflet to disclaim all his divinity titles, under the heading "WHAT IS TRUE, WHAT IS UNTRUE?" On its p. 2, item 6 he states, 'My name is Gurbachan Singh. Some selfish people unnecessarily defame me by falsely implicating my name as if I am a *guru*, an *avtar* or a prophet. I am simple Gurbachan Singh, beyond which I do

not claim myself anything else. Nor I deem it proper to do so.

And further more he says, "I recognise Shri Guru Granth Sahib and other religious books as revealed texts, and give equal respect to them all. Not only that I would not utter any disrespectful words against them, I also take it to be sacrilegious to hear any one else doing so. I sincerely believe in and revere all the Sikh Gurus and other religious preceptors."

16. What is Correct ?

One is puzzled, therefore, to ascertain whether his earlier claims to be an exclusive *avtar* and prophet of the modern world-rather Nirankar (God) himself-was correct or his fresh disavowal, that he is a simple Gurbachan Singh, is genuine.

One is inclined to infer that just as he was over-bearingly and ridiculously assumptuous in his first fake claim, he is equally insincere and dishonest in his disclaimer. Otherwise, if he is sincere in his fresh stand, he must wind up his whole fraudulent show, close his dense of vice, the Bhawans, hand over the Mandal's property of several crores to the Government for a charitable purpose or constitute a Trust of his own choice and himself fall in line with some established and time-honoured religious Order, preferably join the original Baba Dyal's Nirankari Darbar. He may advise his followers also to do the same.

17. Nirankari Mandal

Some time after coming down to Delhi, Shri

Avtar Singh & Co. started and organised their rebel and rival faction, the Nirankari Mandal. It is virtually a family concern. In course of time, he set up his own campus, the Nirankari Colony, in Delhi-9.

18. Centre's Complicity

A Punjabi Weekly of Chandigarh, the 'Panjpani' in its issue of 7.5.1978 has given a stunning background story of the formation of the Nirankari Mandal and its growth. The Editor has made a firm assertion about the Mandal. It came into being during S. Patel's tenure in the Home Ministry. Shri Avtar Singh is said to have made a mutually gainful written contract with the Government through the Secret cell of the Home Ministry. The main terms, it is stated, were these : Shri Avtar Singh would spread his Mandal's activities in the Sikh-dominated districts of Punjab. The aim of the Mandal would be to corrupt the staunch Khalsa fervour and character of the Sikh masses, by preaching and practising his '*Mans, Madura, Maithan*' cult among them.

The political purposes is said to be to weaken the Sikh urge for keeping intact their full-blooded distinct entity in respect of separate socio-religious-cum-politico-cultural aspects of the Sikh Panth. Thereby, it was meant to demolish the image, capacity and competence of the Sikh Panth's mouth piece, the Shiromani Akali Dal. The latter has ever been, since after partition, an eye sore for the centre. Having missed the bus in 1946-47, the Dal has

continued to rightly clamour for restoring and rehabilitating the Community's historic independant status in the aforesaid aspects.

The Congress bosses were, as perhaps now too some apex men of the present government are, anxious to silence or full the Dal into accepting to abjure politics. Indeed, there have been repeated attempts by the Delhi demi-gods, for instance, both by the Congress and recently by the Janata party, to make Akali Dal abandon its separate political status.

Of course, to make the Panth acquiesce into this position without achieving the Dal's targets, is tantamount to obliging the Sikhs commit religio-cultural-cum-political suicide in the present set up of things in the country.

Thus, Shri Avtar Singh and his Nirankari Mandal are said to have pledged for making the Sikhs deflect from their Khalsa way of life and thinking, thereby making them forget their distinct entity and ultimately making them merge in the general mass of the majority community. Such an arrangement, Delhi seems to be ever anxious, would permanently extinguish the Dal's fiat to fight for the Sikhs' rightful place in the country's political life.

In return for this 'service', the Government is said to have agreed to make available crores of funds to Shri Avtar Singh and his Nirankari Mandal. It is firmly claimed by the above said Weekly that the said mutual arrangement in writing is still present in the secret cell of the Union Government's Home

Ministry. (See Appendix-'C').

It is, therefore, very important for all concerned, the Sikh Panth, the Nirankari Mandal, and the Union Government to ferret out and unearth the said document, and make it public.

Presumably, by virtue of such an existing agreement, the present apex apparatus of Union Government also feels committed to honour it. That perhaps explains the Prime Minister's consistent, much too open, pro-Gurbachan tilt and his colleague, the Foreign Minister's reported advocacy of the *Nirankari Baba's* preaching Manav Dharma (Humanism).

It was perhaps under this cloak that a non-Sikh Minister of Punjab and a veteran communalist Newspaper proprietor of Jullundur volunteered to speak at the last so-called 'Manavta Sammelan' of the Nirankari Chief at Amritsar on 13.4.78, the massacre day of the Sikhs at the hands of this alleged killer.

And it is still fresh in the Sikh's Memories that some time back our Foreign Affairs Ministry had sent round a circular to some of our foreign embassies to ask Sikhs living abroad to arrange V.I.P. receptions in honour of Shri Gurbachan Singh when he visited there. Strong protests then against such a circular by the Tehran Sikhs must still be there in the Foreign Affairs Ministry's records.

Further, in order to lend dignity and credibility to this anti-Sikh Nirankari Mandal, some of the senior central Ministers have been attending their annual gatherings in Delhi.

The Sikhs are also prone to interpret even the apparant soft corner of the Supreme Court for the '*Nirankari Baba*' in the same light.

So there is a reason to believe that Shri Gurbachan Singh's daring indecent deparadations against the Sikh religion and the Sikh Panth are not without the Centre's connivance.

19. Anti-Sikh Political Conspiracy

The above referred to document plus Centres' pro-Nirankari attitude, coupled with the communalists taking sides with the '*Nirankari Baba*' as against the Sikh Panth and this unholy anti-Sikh alliance raising a dust storm against the Akali-dominated State Ministry to topple it down : all this, what is it if not anti-Sikh politics ?

To all intents and purposes, therefore, Shri Gurbachan Singh's Nirankari Mandal and his camouflage fraudulent cloak of spiritualism have proved to be more anti-Sikh political game then anything else. This game is being played by anti-Sikh forces to suppress the Sikh Panth's aspirations to re-discover its destiny.

20. Another Stunning Disclosure

As culled from the S.G.P.C's. recently published 'White Paper' (p. 26) there has come to light another piece of relevant naked truth. It is a statement of one Shri Satpal Baghi of Ferozepur. It is said to have appeared in an April end 1978 issue of the Daily 'Indian Express', its Chandigarh Edition.

As it is in the said WHITE PAPER, it is being given verbatim in an Appendix-'D' herewith as a

part of this booklet at the end. Its text forcefully reinforces the version of Chandigarh's 'Panjpani' Weekly issue of 7.5.78, as referred to above under paragraph 17. In conjunction with Appendix-'D', giving full text of Mr. Satpal Baghi's statement, may be profitably read the 'Panjpani's' version (English rendering of the relevant abstract portions) in Appendix-C and also S. Hukam Singh's article mentioned under paragraph 21 herebelow :

21. Sardar Hukam Singh's Evidence

To further endorse this view, it would be quite pertinent to quote Sardar Hukam Singh, Ex-Speaker, Lok Sabha, from his recent article in the 'Spokesman' New Delhi, in its 15 and 22 May, 1978 issues. Ever since 1947 there has been lurking an unfortunate suspicion in Delhi's inner thinking about the Sikhs' fidelity towards their cherished motherland. And this is so despite their undeniable historic lion's share in sacrifices in the country's liberation struggles. Sikh Panth's insistence on keeping its allround distinct entity intact, is another serious grouse of the majority community's hard-boiled communalists in the Punjab and elsewhere, even in the Centre, whatever be the complexation of the ruling party in Delhi.

In this context, it would be quite cogent to quote Sardar Hukam Singh's inferential verdict from his detailed article, based on solid factual data adduced by him. In this article in two instalments (15 and 22 May issues), captioned, 'SIKH DENIED MINORITY STATUS SINCE PARTITION', he writes :

“Immediately after partition, the Sikh leaders tried their best to assure the Indian Government and the Congress party that they did not want any separate state, but only safeguard to live as equal citizens, with respect and honour, and not as underdogs of democracy.....The policy of the Indian Government since Independence, whatever its complexion presented and whichever the cloak it has worn, has been to absorb and assimilate the Sikhs, and not to give any recognition by which they might further prolong their existence as a distinct community” (The Spokesman 15.5.78, pp. 6,7). Sardar ji, besides giving other references has also copiously quoted from the communalist press leaders of August to October, 1948, e.g. Jai Hind, Jullundur, 6.8.48 ; Hind Samachar, 4.8.48; The Pratap, Jullundur 11.9.48; Tribune, 5.10.48; the Hindustan Times, Oct. 1948, to prove his main contention in nutshell, that “if the Sikhs desire to live in India they should cease to think as a community. The majority community is bent upon liquidating their identity by rubbing them down and maligning them, and the Sikhs have been trying to foil those manoeuvres.” (‘SPOKESMAN’ 22.5.78, p. 4.).

Therefore, in the context under-reference, Sardar Hukam Singh’s article in question is very much worth reading. Its implication must be processed thoroughly by all the conscious Sikhs, also

by the well wishers of the Punjab, as well as of the country at large. Every loyal son of Mother Punjab too must pause and comprehend Punjab's future in the light of S. Hukam Singh's this writing on the wall. (See Appendix H)

All the same, Sardarji's write-up lends a great credence to the assertion made by the Editor of the aforesaid Weekly of Chandigarh. Thus, inadvertently, it also lends credence to the possibility of the reported mutual arrangement between the Nirankari Mandal and the Centre as an effective device to 'rub down' the Sikhs, and therefore, Delhi patronage of Shri Gurbachan Singh's person and programme.

22. Still More Collaboration

As practically it is a well thought out policy of the Centre to 'rub down' the Akali Dal, ipso facto the Sikh Panth, another circumstantial piece of evidence is cited herebelow in support hereof :

The Sikh Panth decimation policy is the crux of the whole matter vis-a-vis the Nirankari Mandal's anti Sikh activity.

The 'Punjabi Samachar' Weekly of Bombay (its 4.8.78 Issue, p. 4) also makes a point from a reliably quoted source in this respect. It reveals, the Sikh leaders are now growing conscious of a fact. The Sikhs are under a thick cloud of suspicion at the Centre, ever since a Home Ministry prepared and recorded confidential note about their political frustration and hence a likely contingency of their hobnobbing with Pakistan any time. The said note is stated to have been prepared and recorded during

late Sardar Patel's stewardship of the Home Ministry, soon after independence, just to condition Delhi's recurring policies towards the community. This explains not only the Centre's sinister device of the Nirankari Mandal's continued patronage against the Sikhs, but also its continued anti-Sikh and (because of Sikhs) anti-Punjab trends. There has piled up a heap of instances of deliberate discrimination, both against the Sikhs and the Punjab, ever since 1947. For example, 3rd June last Memorandum of Punjab's Revenue Minister on the subject, submitted to the Prime Minister—and the latter's subsequent unceremonious rejection thereof—is just an illustration.

As a corollary hereof, the traditional anti-Sikh communalist diehards of Punjab have ever allied themselves with all kinds of anti-Sikh and anti-Punjab forces. Their allout support of the bogus Nirankaris in the case under reference, is a patent fact to further amplify this point. They and their press have in recent months, done their worst not only to support the alleged killers of Sikhs, but also to utilise this unfortunate episode to malign and topple the present Akali-dominated coalition Ministry in the Punjab. This anti-Sikh phobia of some of our communalist brethren is an old mental malady of theirs. For instance, one is reminded of a top class communalist lawyer leader of Lahore to have been the chief adviser of the Nankana Sahib Gurdwara Mahant, who had massacred about 150 innocent Sikh devotees in Feb., 1921. The latter had gone to the Mahant to make

him desist from his acts of debauchery, as a custodian of the sacred shrine.

One is, therefore, tempted to surmise, just as the British Government had supported the killer Mahant against the Sikh Panth for their imperialist reasons then, our world-known 'moralist' Prime Minister, and like their Lahore fore-runner, 'Hindi, Hindu-Hindustan' neo-imperialist zealots of today in supporting the alleged new killer of Sikhs, might not earn a similar odium.

A top class majority community intellectual has claimed that after independence 'Hindus are the masters and rulers of India'. It is not improbable, therefore, that apart from these well organised zealots, in positions of power today, this communally over-bearing thinking is symbolic of an average politically conscious member of the majority community. This seems to be so inspite of the tall hypocritical claims to the contrary.

23. Sikh-Nirankari Controversy

It is much too evident that the Nirankari Mandal has, eversince the aforesaid agreement, been working heart and soul in the direction of its undertaking. Because of Shri Gurbachan's openly running down the Sikh Gurus, mimicking them and also aping certain historic, esteemed Sikh personages, ridiculing the authority of their eternal WORD GURU, Sri Guru Granth Sahib, mocking at the Sikh Community for pursuing their scrosanct usages and tradition, for instance, Kar-Sewa, Amrit Prachar etc. All this has enraged the whole Sikh community over

the years. They have been giving such pin Pricks to the Sikhs since long.

For this reason, before 13.4.78 tragedy, there had been a number of earlier angry protestation by the Sikhs against such indecent and vulgar public blurtings of Shri Gurbachan on various occasions and at various places in the Punjab, like Ropar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Pathankot, Chowk Mehta etc. and outside, for instance, in Bombay. The concerned police records and court proceedings must bear testimony to it in Punjab and Bombay. The Amritsar tragedy was just a climax of all this.

24. Clash or Killing

The Anti-Sikh Press has been profusely publicising all these months that 13.4.78 tragedy in Amritsar was an armed attack perpetrated by the Nihangs on the Nirankari gathering. For this one may refer to, for instance, a misleading caption under a photo picture in the 'Illustrated Weekly of India' of 23.4.78, p. 27, (also referred to elsewhere in this booklet) which mistake the Weekly had to rectify with regrets on protest from S.G.P.C., in its 14.5.78 issue, p. 5.

It is all a travesty of truth. The Nihangs or any political Akalis were no where in the picture on this occasion. It seems, these habitual anti-panth publicists deliberately inducted the name of Nihangs in this tragic episode to make it appear quite plausible, because the Nihangs are armed with traditional Sikh Weapons, remnants as they are of Sri Guru Gobind Singh's holy militia, analogous to Europe's

Knight errants of medieval ages.

The Sikhs who went to protest to the Nirankari Chief to refrain from insulting the Sikh religion and their Gurus in his public blurtings were all unarmed. They also had no liaison whatever with any partisan politics. They had on their persons only sheathed usual symbolic small 'kripans'.

Therefore, they never went with any intention of engaging themselves with any one in an armed combat. It was, therefore, the same kind of one-sided atrocious killings of conscious protestors, by these pseudo-Nirankari killers, i.e., their para-military Sewe Dal, as General Dyer had killed protesting people in Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th April, 1919 Baisakhi in Amritsar. The notorious Mahant Narain Das of Nankana Sahib had also killed about 150 Sikhs on 21st February, 1921 in a similar way with the connivance of the British Government.

These 13.4.78 Sikh protesters were kept by the police at a distance about 300 yards from the venue of the Nirankari gathering. And the people at a considerable distance outside the 'pandal' are said to have heard the Nirankari chief speak on an elaborate loud-speaker arrangement installed inside, exhorting his trained militia personnel in these words, "These Sikhs think they can stop us from freely carrying out our programme. Let them know today how mistaken they are. Time has come to be active for this job."

It is reported, at this stage a contingent of their para-military force, armed and equipped with

rifles, acid bottles, mechanically operated poisoned arrows etc., hastened to the spot where the un-armed protesting Sikhs were made to stand by the police. Within minutes they mowed down more than a dozen of these devoted souls.

Their only fault was that they went there for a perfectly legitimate protest as said above, just as it so often happens, for example, outside the Prime Minister's or any other Government dignitaries' residence in New Delhi or elsewhere.

Hence it was not a Sikh-Nirankari clash but a deliberate one-sided massacre of unarmed Sikhs. A reference has been made at another place in this booklet that, according to a front rank ex-Nirankari veteran, the Nirankari chief is said to have got pre-contemplated plan of 'teaching a lesson' to the protesting Sikhs.

The Kanpur Carnage

Isn't it strange ? Shri Gurbachan Singh, together with his other associates, is facing a murder trail in a Sessions Court. But the Government and the judiciary is so considerate for this alleged murderer that he is allowed to be enlarged on bail, without putting any restrictions and conditions on him for obviating any further chance of his repeating such a ghastly contingency as the one of 13.4.1978 at Amritsar, at least as long the Court proceedings were in progress.

Not only this : Leaders of his private paramilitary force, (see Appendix P.A.) who are also alleged to be directly involved in the Amritsar

massacre, are long declared absconders bearing sizeable rewards on their heads. Is it complimentary for the Government's forces of law and order, in fact for the Government itself, that these alleged killers, absconding for the last more than six months, since 13.4.78, are still at large ? It is extensively rumoured that they are safe and enjoying in the *Nirankari Baba's* own custody in his headquarters in Delhi-9, that is, under the Centre's own nose.

It is, therefore, wrong to infer that these alleged declared murder absconders are under the implied direct protection of the centre itself ?

And what is the direct sequence of the above logic ? The *Nirankari baba* is again involved, or why not say is directly responsible for another similar set of murders in Kanpur on 26th September, 1978, under similar circumstances and for similar reasons.

And one should believe therefore, that the Sikh community should await a still further round of martyrdoms for the same sacred cause as at Amritsar and then in Kanpur, at the hands of these very alleged murderers, the fake *Nirankaries*, throughout the country with the Government's connivance.

It seems this abominable *Nirankari baba* is well set to 'teach a pucca lesson' to the Sikh Panth under the Centre's own patronage.

Sardar Hukam Singh's Inquiry Report

As culled from the Daily Tribune of 19.10.78, p. 1, hereunder is a Copy of Sardar Hukam Singh Inquiry Committee's report on the Kanpur Tragedy. Though subsequently the Prime Minister has

remarked it is a 'one-sided' version, yet it is analogous to the Congress Inquiry Report on 1919 Jallianwala Bagh massacre as against British Government's Hunter Committee's findings.

The accredited readers may be pleased to make their own references from the undernoted next to reconcile the same with the pivotal gist of the case made out in the main exposition in this compilation.

The Kanpur Tragedy

The three man committee appointed by the Delhi Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee to enquire into the Kanpur incident of September 26 has expressed the view that the tragedy resulting in 13 deaths and injuries to over 40 persons could have been averted if the police had desired so.

The Committee is headed by Mr. Hukam Singh former Lok Sabha Speaker. The other members are Mr. Mehar Singh Chadha, retired District and Sessions Judge, and Mr Hazara Singh Cundola, an advocate of the Supreme Court.

The committee which made an on-the-spot enquiry for three days in Kanpur submitted its findings to the D. G. P. C. President Mr. Jaswant Singh Sethi.

The report, which was released to the press by Mr. Hukam Singh and Mr. Sethi at a news conference said that the situation was allowed to develop unchecked until the Sikhs reached Nirankari Bhavan where they were trapped and then fired upon indiscriminately. The police did not have lathis or tear gas

shells, normally used in dispersing crowds, before resorting to shooting. The shooting was to kill and not to disperse the assembly or protect any human life or property as almost all the bullets were aimed above the hips.

Nirankaris Armed

Preparations had already been made at Nirankari Bhavan where heaps of stones and brick-bats had been collected on the roof. These were used as missiles as the Sikh procession approached the Bhavan. Besides, the Nirankari volunteers were armed with lathis and firearms.

The police, according to the report, received information at 8 a.m. that a procession was heading towards Nirankari Bhavan. During the hour and a half interval it had, no magistrate was requested to be on the spot nor was any senior officer deputed to assess the situation and deal with it. The S.H.O. was left alone to take all the decisions and he had already made plans to 'shoot to kill' as was apparent from his equipping himself and his assistants with revolvers and .303 rifles.

The procession covered a 3-km route and passed the road where the police station was situated. The police watched the procession pass without any hindrance and remained unconcerned.

The gates of the Bhavan had been closed and bolted from inside with only one kept open. At the enclosure gate the processionists were asked not to enter the hall. They insisted on meeting the Baba. The stones thrown from the Bhavan forced them to

run helter-skelter but a few forced their way in. No force was used to prevent them nor was the assembly declared unlawful. When some had been trapped the only opened gate was closed. There were police inside the hall also. There were volleys of brick-bats thrown by the crowd outside and a murderous assault on those trapped with the use of fire-arms, brick-bats and lathis.

The F.I.R. filed by the Sikhs states that the first shot was fired by Baba Gurbachan Singh. The Sikhs found themselves cornered with no chance of escape. Thus in desperation they struggled and fought back.

There was firing without warning. Every Sikh trying to flee or find shelter was chased and fired at.

The police appeared to be dissatisfied even with this firing. A young man Mr. Manmohan Singh, had hidden himself in an adjacent building. Two hours after the firing had stopped he came out and tried to ride away on his scooter but was shot dead.

The police did not attend to the wounded to see whether any could be saved. On the other hand, those attempting to provide first-aid to them were fired at. There were no Nihangs nor any other outsider.

The question of use of excessive force by the police, the report observed, was irrelevant as revolvers and 303 rifles were the only weapons they had.

Atrocities

The atrocities committed by the police were

so terrifying that the Sikhs were completely paralysed and could not even dare to mention them. No Sikh dared to file the first information report. There was a lot of delay and when ultimately it was filed, all the Sikh leaders were asked to sign it so that everyone echoed the statement exonerating the police, the report stated.

The district authorities completely forgot that they were the guardians and the Nirankaris and the Sikhs were their wards. Timely steps could have saved the Sikhs from this catastrophe.

Mr. Hukam Singh said that the Sikh processionists displayed a high spirit of restraint and sacrifice. Some of them had to make the supreme sacrifice by braving the bullets of the police and the Nirankaris while others were permanently disabled. Two young men became martyrs, leaving behind young widows with small children.

The committee suggested that immediate relief should be provided to the widows and their orphaned children brought up and compensation given to those disabled.

Mr. Hukam Singh said the U.P. Chief Minister who had strong views, was initially not in favour of holding the enquiry and tried to dissuade them from doing so.

Mr. Sethi said he would submit this report to the Prime Minister on October 21 and demand action against the erring police officers. A copy of the report would also be sent to the U.P. Chief Minister.

Otherwise

Otherwise, if these people had really any genuine independent religious school of thought to preach, without insulting the Sikh religion or for that matter any other religions, the Sikhs could have no quarrel with them.

As a matter of fact, there is no record of Sikhs clashing with followers of any other genuine religion. They believe in the maxim so copiously enunciated in their sacred scriptures like '*Na ko bairi nahin begana sagal sang hamko ban aai*', i.e., no one is our enemy, we befriend one and all. Or "*Sabko mit ham apan kina, ham sabhna ke sajan*", i.e., we have befriended all and we are friends of all. Both these quotations, out of scores of such ones, are from Shri Guru Granth Sahib. Similarly Shri Guru Gobind Singh exhorts his followers in this context in these words "*Manas-ki-jat Sabh Ekai hi Pahchanbo*", i.e., Recognise ye whole humanity as one.

Hence as a matter of practical illustration to this day Sikhs all over the globe easily fraternise with all people of the Universe. This is a part of their character, individual, and Corporate, as a result of their Gurus' teachings. The world-revered authorities like late Maharishi Aurobindo Ghosh and Prof. A. Toynbee and scores of other eminent erudite celebrities, fully endorse this view. For instance, one may refer to Swami Aurobindo's 'Foundation of Indian Culture', and Prof. Arnold Toynbee's Preface to the UNESCO's Publication, titled "Selections from Sikhs Sacred Writings".

Hence Shri Gurbachan's impertinent claim to be the present day Guru Nanak and his insult to Sri Guru Granth Sahib and to mock at the sacred Sikh traditions, and personages etc. as briefed above, is the cause of his coming into conflict with the Sikhs at large, and not the Akalis or Nihangs alone, as is being mischievously publicised to malign the Akali leaders and Akali Ministers in the Punjab Government. As for Nihangs they have been nowhere in the picture in the story under reference.

25. The Hukamnama

In the last resort, in view of the continued insulting of Sikh religion, and disruptive activities in the organised Sikh Panth etc. by Shri Gurbachan and his bogus Nirankari followers, the former at long last has been obliged to proclaim his and his followers' socio-religious boycott by the Sikhs. It was in the form of a traditional Hukamnama, the edict, issued from the highest seat of Sikh religious authority, the Akal Takhat on 10th June, 1978. The Sikh Panth is an organised Guru's socio-religious state within state. Such occasional Hukamnama in Sikh history hitherto have been issued, both in the Gurus' times and afterwards, to keep intact the Panth's integrity against any disruption.

This is, therefore, a domestic prerogative of the Sikh Panth. None else should bother his or her head about it. If some people have done it or are still doing it, they have done so or are doing it at their own risk of interfering with the religious affairs of the Sikh Community. The Hukamnama affects

none others, except the disruptive, bogus, Sikh-like Nirankari Chief impostor and his followers.

26. Study the Hukamnama

It is highly improbable that the thoughtless communalists and other critics of the Hukamnama, beinfolded by their absurd prejudices and or ignorance, have so far studied its text in depth nor they are conversant with Sikh history and tradition, nor they care to know all this. Thus they are announcing their prejudiced judgements without any basis.

Referring to its contents in a photostat copy, published in the official organ of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.) Amritsar, 'the Gurdwara Gazettee', for June 1978, the under-noted words and a text of Shri Guru Gobind Singh quoted therein, are very germane to the above point : '*Khalse da vird hai*', *Dharam chalavan sant ubaran, dusht sabhan ko mul uparan*. It means, the Khalsa Panth is inherently committed to further, foster and uphold the values of Dharma as such, and to stand a sentinel to safe guarding the dignity of the rightieous people, the saints, and to destroy the enemies of these ethical values and the virtuous people root and branch.

Apart from Sikhism, as already pointed out, Nirankari Mandal's '*bible*', the 'Avtar Bani', downgrades and insults the credentials of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam as well. It defies Avtar Singh and Gurbachan Singh over the heads of Lords Rama, Krishna, and other Hindu deities, and ridicules Hindu pilgrimage tradition, as well as insults Jesus Christ

and Prophet Mohammad. The Hukamnama, therefore, though indirectly, is there to check their taking liberty with the sanctity and grace of other religions also.

In a way, therefore, over a dozen of the cream of pious Sikhs, following in the footsteps of Guru Tegh Bahadur, have laid down their lives on 13th April, 1978, in defence of Dharma as such. That way, all sincere votaries of all religions and these who swear by the spiritual values of India's ancient, ethical, eternal culture, must also own these martyrs as their own. It follows, therefore, that all the followers of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam, must also join hands with the Sikh Panth to boycott these bogus Nirankaris. They should all jointly impress upon the Government to arrange a thorough enquiry into every detail of this *wām-margi* cult for its total banning.

27. Hukamnama Safeguards Other Faiths Also

Apart from safeguarding the excellence of the corporate Sikh character and system, there is another catholic significance of the Hukamnama. Inadvertently, it checks the on slaught of Gurbachan Singh's *wām-margi Nirankarism* on the essence of our proud Indian ethico-spiritual culture. For that reason it behoves the whole lot of people who sear by such a spiritual tradition of Mother India, most of all the Central Government's votaries of ancient ethical culture, must rather join forces with the Sikh Panth to save spiritual Indianism against the pollution of the foredescribed debauch *Nirankarism*.

28. Private Army

The S.G.P.C. has recently published a 4-page folder, titled 'Private Army of Sant Nirankari Mission.' According to this the Nirankari Mandal maintains about 7,000 strong militarily trained militia. The recruitment thereto is said to be country wide. The force is a paid one and regularly ranked and uniformed on a military pattern. There is a Commander-in-Chief, a Deputy Commander-in-Chief and down the rungs, there are other military-like ranks at the lowest stage being ordinary sepoy and other ranks (ORS).

Their recruitment age ranges from 16 to 40 years for males and 12 to 30 for females, preferably unmarried young girls. The force is made up of city-wise and region-wise recruited units, their strength in each case being Nirankari population-wise and importance of a place or a region. Training duration for neo-recruits; is three months, as per a well planned schedule. The force is called the 'Sant Nirankari Seva Dal' (S.N.S.D.). It is planned, controlled and supervised in every detail by the regularly constituted 'Nirankari Seva Dal Board.'

It was the S.N.S.D. personnel who moved down the 13 Sikhs, the martyrs and grievously injured about 80 others on the last Baisakhi day, 13-4-1978, in Amritsar. Earlier, besides about half a dozen other places in Punjab, they had already indulged in a similar action in Bombay too for similar reasons.

A noted writer, Mr. Balwant Gargi, states about the S.N.S.D. in a Nirankari Mandal publication

of his, the '*Nirankari Baba*' pp. 72, 73 like this : "the first time I attended a (Nirankari) *Smagam* two years ago on the the Dehli's Ram Lila Grounds, I was startled to see an army of uniformed soldiers, controlling traffics and conducting participants. A white turbanned senior official wearing epaulettes and leather cross belts commanded them with a whistle".

This is a brief description of Gurbachan's paramilitary force maintained for atrocious actions like the tragic one, recently enacted in Amritsar on 13-4-1978.

Some Cogent Queries

In relevance to the 'Sant Nirankari Seva Dal', a misnomer indeed, and its heinous activities, plus other unpalatable facts stated in this narration vis-a-vis the Government's administrative obligations, here are a number of cogent queries of a responsible citizen for the Government to answer :

- (i) Isn't it probable that apart from reported non-cooperation of the Dehli Police with the Punjab Police, the latter were also afraid of serving arrest warrants on the '*Nirankari Baba*' in his Dehli citadel and his other alleged murder accomplices, because of the *baba's* these S.N. S.D. hideous sentinals ? In this way, process of law was trifled with, seemingly by this Nirankari militia.
- (ii) If the Government has so far taken no cognizance of this S.N.S.D's. activities and its supreme Commander, the *baba*, what inference the 'Secular' Administration would like the

Sikh Panth in particular and the other peace loving citizens in general to draw from this kind of its gross administrative delinquency ?

- (iii) How is it that the Government's law and order agencies took no notice of the Nirankari Chiefs's earlier such violent actions at a number of places in the Punjab and outside, in order to properly bridling him before permitting him to convene his gathering in Amritsar on 13-4-1978 ?
- (iv) Is it not the obligation of the Government even now to take the public at large into its confidence as to what was the inventory of the police with regard to the weapons and casks of whisky etc. recovered in a police research of the Amritsar Nirankari gathering camp and its Bhawan, carried on immediately after the 13-4-78 tragedy ? With information about the licenses of the armoury items used in the said carnage.
- (v) And is it not the height of the Governments' callousness and disregard of the precious human life, that it allowed the Nirankari Chief carry on his condemnable programme of his Amritsar gathering on 13-4-1978 for hours even after the massacre that day ? And is the Government not still more seriously accountable before the people, that it not only allowed the Chief and his alleged murder accomplices and other paraphernatia to safely escape to Dehli, but also some Government officials

having provided him escort for a safe run-away? Isn't it not a Government's virtual abetment in the alleged crime ?

- (vi) Isn't it with a sinister purpose that the Government inducted quite a few Nirankari I.A.S. and other senior officers in Sikh garb into the Punjab administration ?

For all such queries to answer satisfactorily the ball is certainly in the Government's court for clearance.

A major slaughter was long contemplated

One of the front rank veteran ex-Nirankaris, Nirankari Mandal's senior ex-preacher, has disclosed another startling fact. In his recent Punjabi publication (p. 61) '*Sant Nirankari Mandal di Haqiqat*' (i.e., Reality of the Nirankari Mandal), S. Ujagar Singh Josh Anandpuri has revealed Nirankari Chief's long contemplated scheme of a major slaughter of Sikhs to teach them a lesson, in order to make them abandon their protests against his insults to the Sikh Gurus and the Sikh religion. Isn't it also pitiable that the Government's concerned machinery has been careless about such hideous designs of his against the Sikhs ?

29. Naqli Nirankari Nihangs

Shri Gurbachan Singh has also created a contingent of imitation Nihangs, a militant Sikh sect. This contingent is created and kept for a few probable purposes. One is to utilise their services along with the fore-described para-military Nirankari Seva Dal on occasions like the one of 13-4-1978 Amritsar carnage. Second, to use it to create a camouflage

scene of an Akali-Nihang attack on them (the Nirankaries), as an anti-Nihang or Anti-Akali publicity stunt, when it suits their purpose.

For instance, they got published an identical misleading picture in the 23-4-78 'Illustrated Weekly of India' (p. 27) to publicise as if Akali'(Nihangs) had attacked them in Amritsar on 13-4-78. On S.G.P.C's. and other Sikhs' subsequently pointing out this mistake, the Weekly had to publish the necessary correction in its 14-5-78 issue on p. 5, with an expression of regrets. There can still be another fraudulent purpose; as if Nihang Sikhs, known to be a sect of staunch militant Sikhs of pristine Khalsa faith, are also their followers.

Thus all kinds of frauds seems to be another article of faith with the Nirankari Mandal.

To authenticate the above statement regarding creation of Naqli Nirankari Nihang contingent, a group photocopy of such mim'c Nihangs taken on the 26th general Nirankari gathering, and one more of such imitation Nihangs practising a mock fencing game is in the 'Sant Nirankari' Punjabi Monthly for December, 1973 p. 21 (See Appendix F).

30. Status of Amritsar Martyrs

This brief narration would be incomplete without clarifying the status of the 13-4-1978 Amritsar martyrs in the Sikh world, as heroes hereof.

There should be no doubt about it that despite their deep anguish, the whole Sikh Panth is genuinely proud, these martyrs together with Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman's matchless deed of October, 1969,

have added another modern golden chapter to the vast proud record of Sikh martyrs in history so far.

In what great esteem the whole Sikh world holds these new martyrs, it would be evident from the unanimous resolution on this tragic event, as passed in the All-World Sikh Convention, held under the auspices of the supreme statutory Sikh religious body, the S.G.P.C. Amritsar on 17-5-1978.

Also how even the Sikh Dharma Brotherhood (Los Angeles, U.S.A.) of the Western Hemisphere Neo-Sikhs, have reacted to this carnage of Sikhs; for all this see Appendix 'G'. Representatives of the Brotherhood participated in the 17-5-1978 Convention also.

Is it a Religion ?

The country's Prime Minister and vest of his co-thickness seem to be very much at pains to make the people believe that this fraud of *Nirankarism* is a full fledged faith and its followers must enjoy a right of worship as they like.

In this context there is a pertinent question diforcing this hot issue from the current politics it has got to be academically investigated whether Gurbachan's Nirankari Mission is at all a faith of any distinct identity meriting such a privilege. For this a panel of competent religions scholars of Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism, which faith these people demigrate, must sit together to fix a common yardstick of credentials of an acceptable religion and academically map it out on that. Of all the people, let our esteemed Prime Minister himself take such an

initiative.

Otherwise such fake and mushroom growth of these so-called, faiths, parasitic demonstration are sure to make our cherished Mother India a hell to live in and make a mockery of an ethical sacred heritage before the world at large.

31. Inquiry, A Must

The fore-narrated facts warrant an immediate forthright Governmental inquiry into the Nirankari Mandal's affairs. It is sure, as a result, some solid material will come on the file, to make it necessary for the Union Government not only to ban the Mandal itself, but also prescribe their 'AVTARBANI' and other spurious literature.

By the way, like the Nirankari Mandal, an enquiry and an identical action is also called for against the activities of quite a number of other such pseudo-religious agencies in the country. There has cropped up a mushroom growth of such counterfeit, parasitic cults and regressive elements in the land. They are threatening the full-blooded modern, onward march of the nation. They are badnaming India in the whole world. Quoting an eminent writer, Sri Dinanath Sidhantalankar, from the April, 1973 issue of a Hindi Monthly, the 'Jana Gyan' (p. 30), a 'WHITE PAPER', recently published by the S.G.P.C. states in this context on p. 16 as follows :

“there is a deluge of bogus gods incarnate and hypocritical gurus in India these days. Currently, there are over two hundred and fifty persons thriving in India who claim to be gurus or

gods - incarnate. Some of them stake the claim that they are the supreme god, Vishnu, others proclaim that they are the gods of gods, Siva and still others assert that they are incarnations of Rama Chandra, Lord Krishna or the Final Incarnation, heralding the End of World, Immaculate Kalki."

What a tamasha of India's proud ancient culture ?

Hence a high level inquiry into the affairs of the Nirankari Mandal and other such fake religious mountebanks and agencies of its kind is imperative in the nation's interests.

By the way, any well-meaning Government of India, would heartily appreciate the S.G.P.C's. recent great labour of love in publishing a lot of literature, bearing on the dark image of this bogus Nirankari Mandal and its Chief. These small, handy publications in English and Punjabi have revealed the Mandal and its apex steward, inside out, whole of its ugly picture.

Normally, a really people's Government in the interests of the country at large, and in the light of what is being stated in this booklet, would heartily welcome such a labour of love, in order to readily use it for putting its Central Bureau of Investigation (C.B.I.) on the Mandal's track to apprise the Government in due course of what is what in this camouflage of a pseudo-spiritual fraud.

Otherwise, as in case of the bogus Nirankari Mandal, an unhealthy impression is gaining ground

amongst the people that as it serves its sinister ulterior motives in particular contexts, the Government itself is interested, even in creating and patronising such disruptive forces for the sake of 'Divide and Rule' purposes.

On the contrary, according to a recently reported version of our Honourable Foreign Affairs Minister, the big wigs of the Central Government have been attending the annual gatherings of the Nirankari Chief in Delhi. Their so doing is tantamount to giving credibility and respectability to this bogus conglomeration. And what does this kind of patronage mean? Nothing more or nothing less than this that they bless Nirankari Mandal's anti-people and anti-religions activities and its Chief's blasphemies, for instance as contained in the under-noted versions about him in the Mandal's periodical, the 'Sant Nirankari' issues. It says, in the darkest hour of the present black age (*ghor Kaliyuga*) the God Himself, the 'spiritual emperor', in the garb of Baba Gurbachan Singh, is delivering humanity across the horrible ocean (of sin) with his all encompassing personality (*Vairat Roop*) May 1964 issue, p. 24.

His father, Shri Avtar Singh, too had claimed like this. 'Allah has returned to earth, accompanied by God, with (Lord) Rama also under his (Avtar Singh's) garment. God, has Himself descended on earth', (ref. The 'Sant Nirankari' May, 1964 issue, p. 9).

Again in August, 1972 issue p. 17; "To-day in the Bharat land of 23 crores of Gods a all Gods,

Baba Gurbachan Singh has appeared. In negation of temples, mosques and Gurdwaras, he is re-making men (out of beasts) through his spiritual cells (Nirankari Bhawans)."

In July, 1973, together with his family members, he visited Europe on a pleasure trip. His 'Sant Nirankari' editor had printed an account thereof, under the headline 'CHRIST AGAIN TO EUROPE' and in January, 1978 his visit to Denmark was reported in the same magazine under the heading, 'GOD IN COPENHEGEN'.

These are just a few illustrations of the impostor, Shri Gurbachan Singh's numerous such idiotic but blasphemous outbursts. It seems, therefore, our Central Government dignitaries are patronising and boosting this kind of a mountebank against the great Sikh Panth, for reasons now known to every conscious Sikh.

If they neglect to hold a thorough inquiry into his tomfooleries and ban his Mandal's activities, it will confirm their malafides vis-a-vis the Sikh Panth. This free play of the Mandal is also polluting the rich spiritual heritage and culture of India, of which our top Government leaders are so proud.

Crux of the Whole Trouble

All said and done and frankly speaking, crux of the whole present trouble between the Sikhs and the bogus Nirankari's is reduced to this. The bogus Nirankari anti-Sikh movement has been initiated and patronised by the Centre for cowing down the Sikh Panth in their distinct religio-cultural-cum-political

aspirations. Ample factual material has been adduced in this compilation to support this contention.

32. References

In order to compile the foregoing brochure, entitled "GENESIS OF SIKH-NIRANKARI TUSSEL," a varied list of references have been consulted. Of them, about a score are S.G.P.C's recent small pamphlet publications in English, Hindi and Punjabi. Of these some titles are : (English) Nirankari Mandal's Challenge to Sikhism, Sant Nirankari Dal, A Challenge for Indian Society by Dr. Fauja Singh, Head of History Department, Punjabi University, Patiala ; A WHITE PAPER ; NIRANKARI'S PRIVATE ARMY ; Why the Amritsar Martyrs sacrificed themselves, by the American Sikh Dharma Brotherhood ; (Punjabi) Nirankari Mandal da Sikh Dharam nu Challenge ; Naqli Nirankari Babe da Chhal -Nataki Gian ; Naqli Nirankari Tole da Paj ughar giya ; Naqli Nirankari mat vich shrab Kabab (beef plus Pork) di Khullh ; Naqli Nirankari da Khuda vi Naqli te Jhutha Hai ; Naqli Nirankari Babe da Jhutha Sapashtikaran ; Naqli Nirankari Mat de Hindu Dharam Virudh hamle, by Dr. Mohan Lal Sandal, Amritsar ; (Hindi). Some extracts from Avtarbani (pp. 158, 186, 193, 203, 237, 243, 246) published by Sikh Dharam Parchar Sabha, Ludhiana ; Gurdwara Gazette, official organ of S.G.P.C., May, June and July, 1978 issues ; Takht Sri Hazur Sahib, Nanded's, official organ 'Sach Khand Pattar's' issue for July 1978 ; 'Naqli Nirankari' book of Giani Partap Singh,

ex-Jathedar Sri Akal Takht and Editor 'Gian Amrit' Monthly, 5th edition of 5-6-78; Nirankari Mandal Di Haqiqat' by a veteran ex-Nirankari, Sardar Josh Anandpuri; Original Nirankari Darbar's Hukamnama issued in January, 1955; Kendri Singh Sabha's booklet; 'Sach Kithe Hai' ? ; writer's two book-lets 'Genesis of Guru Granth Sahib' and 'Guru Tegh Bahadur, The Martyr; Gleanings from the Nirankari Mandal's Literature 'Avtar bani' 'Nirankari Baba Yug Purush, the 'Sant Nirankari' magazine etc.

NOTE —The abbreviation of S.G.P.C. in the foregoing narration stands for "Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee" Amritsar, the supreme statutory religious body of the Sikhs.

33. The Finis

It is hoped this booklet will dispel the misgivings in all the honest quarters. Instead, it is sure to create healthy understanding of the issues under references. A great misunderstanding has been created by the fake Nirankari, Shri Gurbachan & Co., plus his allies, the traditional anti-Sikh communalists and their press, against the Sikhs and their leaders, through a vast network of a misleading publicity, up and down the country, even abroad. If it does, the purpose of this labour of love, will have been served. Such an understanding on the issue in question will help the ends of national cohesion.

Appendices

APPENDIX A (Ref. paragraph 12)

GURBACHAN SINGH

W-2000/3-88

SANT NIRANKAR, MANDAL
DELHI-9 (INDIA)

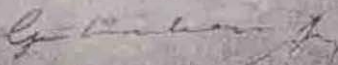
My dear Friend,

Please be informed that the responsibility assigned from time to time to prophets like Noah, Jesus, Rama, Krishna, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Kabir, Nanak and Dyal has now been put on my shoulders by my predecessor, Baba Avtar Singh Ji. My duties include revealing God to one and all irrespective of one's caste, creed, race, colour, nationality or marital. So whoever will approach me or any of my apostles will instantaneously be gifted with an abiding perception of the Omnipresent God.

I come also to glorify the truly prophets of the past by revealing their real creations and dividing their teachings into layman's actual experience. I have no rituals to impose, no particular restrictions to prescribe, no beliefs to subject my disciples to and no new religion to found. Voraciousness or non-vegetarianism or this or that political ideology does not stand in my way. My message is for the human being as you, and not for a member of any particular religion, community or nationality.

I have the entire reservoir of water for the present-day thirsty world. You too come and quench your thirst.

Yours eternally,



APPENDIX B

(Ref. paragraph 12)

THERE IS ONE LINEAGE OF PROPHETS FROM ADAM TO GURBACHAN

ALL HOLY PROPHETS INCLUDING NOAH,
RAMA, MOSES, JOHN, CHRIST, PAUL,
MOHAMMED, NANAK, GOBIND SINGH,
DYAL, AND GURBACHAN (THE CURRENT
ONE LIVING IN DELHI-9, INDIA)
ARE INTERLINKED IN A NEVER-BROKEN
CHAIN OF SUCCESSION (NOMINATION
BY PREDECESSOR) AND HAVE A TOTAL
IDENTITY OF PHILOSOPHY SINCE ADAM

ONE LINEAGE OF PROPHETS
DISCOVERED BY:

HARCHARAN SINGH KIRMAN
1313, SECTOR 15-B,
CHANDIGARH (INDIA)

ENQUIRIES WELCOME

APPENDIX C

(See paragraph 18)

The 'Panjpani' Weekly of 7.5.1978, p. 1

1239, Sector 34-C Chandigarh

(Translation of relevant abstracts)

Headlines

Because of suspect malafides of Sikhs, the most serious conspiracy against them during the last 30 years, being uncovered for the first time. The Nirankaris are given an assignment to shape a new Sikh religion which will forego its sovereign entity.

Main Article

This has been the order of the day during the last 30 years that there has been a mushroom growth of all sorts of modern saints, gurus, rishis etc. Their main concern is to create their own deras, ashrams, colonies etc., publicise their personal selves, amass wealth and lead, enjoy a profligate life, full of pleasures and luxuries..... (Baba) Gurbachan Singh has topped them all. After the last Baisakhi massacre in Amritsar he is the topic of the day and very startling facts about him have come to light.

(In this) a most surprising information has come out from a cent per cent reliable source of the Union Home Ministry, who naturally wants to keep anonymous and is sure of the custody of the relevant record. This document make it clear that there is a secret agreement between the Union Government and the Nirankari Mission, by virtue of the which the Mission is said to have received crores of funds from the Government. This contract is said to have been made during late Sardar Patel's stewardship of the Home Ministry.

This agreement was based on a report said to have been

prepared by the Minorities' Secret Cell of the Ministry. It is reported to be to the effect that in the North, Akalis (i.e. the Sikhs) could any time pose a threat to the country's solidarity, by hobnobbing with Pakistan.

Hence in order to weaken them, it is said to have been made out in the report, it would be desirable to help people like Baba Avtar Singh (Gurbachan Singh's father). Such people could wean away the Sikhs from their spirit of sovereign entity and ultimately make them amenable to be a part of Hindus, it is said to have been claimed in the said report.

As per this reported mutual agreement the Nirankari Mission was committed to give an annual account of its achievements (to the Government) through a secret agency, it is said.

It is said, it is there in the secret cell file that such annual accounts (of the Mission's achievements) were found to be satisfactory. In lieu thereof enormous funds were paid every year to the Nirankari Mission, it is mentioned.

It is claimed, very trustworthy fanatic and able men were put in charge of this Minorities' Secret Cell, whose function has been to convey exaggerated and coloured opinions to the Government against the minorities. On the basis of these very officers' reports, it is said, the Central Government dignitaries subsequently began to attend Nirankari functions in order to impart to them credibility and respectability in the people's eyes. Also, after this, the Foreign Ministry began to instruct its foreign missions and embassies to arrange V.I.P. receptions in honour of the Nirankari leaders and otherwise be helpful to them during their foreign tours, it is claimed by the Weekly. Even Sikhs living abroad, were specially instructed by the Indian Embassies to accord befitting receptions to the Nirankari leaders, which the former took very ill.

It is also asserted in the said Weekly that as a part of the fulfilment of the Nirankari Mission's commitment, it also

managed to induct its own trustworthy agents, I.A.S. and or I.P.S. or Secret Police officers, more particularly in the Punjab. And that in case of such appointments the Home Ministry has been making special recommendations on the plea that those appointees being Nirankaris, would be specially useful to the Indian Government. The Weekly states that at present there are many Nirankaris, particularly in the Punjab's C.I.D. Department. (On the Weekly's p. 5, col. 4, last paragraph)

The above referred to source of information is confident that the record under reference, in the Home Ministry's Minorities Cell, cannot be removed or destroyed as a number of anti-Nirankari Officers (in the said Cell) are quite vigilant about it.

In the end the Weekly exhorts the Akali M.Ps to manage to unearth this record and get it placed on the Lok Sabha Speaker's Table. by which they would be best serving the cause of Sikhism.

(Translated by the writer of this brochure)

APPENDIX D

(See para 20)

Another Stunning Disclosure

Quoting from the S.G.P.C's recently published 'WHITE PAPER', p. 26, here under is another startling revelation on the point made out by one Shri Satpal Baghi of Ferozepur in an April, 1978 issue of the Chandigarh's edition of the 'Indian Express' daily :

"The genesis of the real trouble between the Nirankaris and Akalis goes back to the years when Mrs. Indira Gandhi headed the Union Government. She wanted to weaken the Shiromani Akali Dal but found that Akalis could not be brought to heel. She thought of an elaborate plan to strengthen the Nirankari sect not only in Punjab but throughout the country and abroad also. Official patronage was extended to the Nirankaris much to the chagrin of Akalis, who have always considered the Nirankaris as heretics.

In pursuit of this policy of divide and rule, Mrs. Gandhi personally gave clearance for a diplomatic passport to be issue to the Nirankari Chief and the Indian High Commissioners and Ambassadors abroad were instructed to show him respect and regard. This was meant to help the sect to improve its image and increase its following abroad.

During Mrs. Gandhi's regime, the Nirankaris were known to be receiving financial help from secret Government funds, not open to audit or scrutiny by Parliament.

During the Emergency the recalcitrant attitude of the Akalis further annoyed Mrs Gandhi and Mr Sanjay Gandhi. Efforts for building a parallel organisation among the Sikhs of Punjab as a counterblast to the Akalis were intensified. At

the instance of Mrs. Gandhi, the Congress regime began giving greater official patronage to the Nirankari sect. Mr. H. S. Chhina I.A.S., a staunch Nirankari, was appointed Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government in 1976.

As a result of open official patronage and support, this sect got a considerable boost within the administrative set-up of the Punjab Government. Mr. Chhina appointed Mr. Niranjan Singh I.A.S. as Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur. Mr. Niranjan Singh tried his best to enlarge the field of operation of the Nirankaris. It is during this period that the Sant of Bhindranwale took up the challenge.

What a rare and revealing naked truth? Doesn't it fully confirm the 'Panjpani's' version in its 7.5.78 issue?

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APPENDIX E

(See para 26)

Hukamnama 10 June, 1978 of Sri Akal Takhat, Amritsar

Re-an Edict to the Sikh World for socio-religious boycott of the Naqli Nirankaris

There is but ONE God ; the whole cosmos is His manifestation

VICTORY TO HIM

‘Hail, THE TIMELESS GOD, Stand by us’

EDICT OF

SRI AKAL TAKHT SAHIB

‘Victory to the kitchen cauldron and the Sword,

This exaltation is received from Guru Nanak—Guru Gobind Singh’

“Salvation of the whole Khalsa world lies in accepting the Orders of Timeless Lord Almighty. The TIMELESS GOD is all Merciful. AND under His Decree was ordained and manifested into this universe the all—beneficent Order of Sikhism for the deliverance of mankind ; as shaped by Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh. And it is the Khalsa’s commitment to foster and further religious values and exalt the righteous people and also to destroy the enemies of both these, root and branch.

For sometime past there has appeared a movement in Delhi, under the title of the so-called Nirankaris, of which Gurbachan Singh is the leader. His aim is to demolish the religious and moral values. But besides this, he is specially and vigorously vitiating the Sikh doctrines, usages and grandeur. Because of this, there have occurred serious clashes at a number of places in the country. And for this very reason, a number of Sikhs got martyred or grievously injured on the last Baisakhi, 13 April 1978, in Sri Amritsar.



५. विद्वत्पुरुषः सौ की दण्डः ॥



ਸੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਜੀ ਸਹਾਇ ॥

ਹੁਕਮਨਾਮਾ

ਸ਼ੀ ਅਕਾਲ ਤਖਤ ਸਾਹਿਬ

ਦੇਗ ਤੇਗ ਫਤਹ ਨਸਰਤ ਬੇ ਦਰੰਗ ॥

ਯਾਦਤ ਅੰਜ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ॥

[illegible]

ਧਰਮ ਚਲਾਵਨ ਸੰਤ ਉਬਾਰਨ ॥

ਦਸਟ ਸਭਨ ਕੇ ਮਲ ਚਿਪਾਫਨ ॥

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

ਮਿਥੀ ੨੯ ਸੋਨ, ਜੇ ਨਾਨਕਸ਼ਾਹੀ ੪੦੯
੧੦ ਸੋਨ, ੧੯੭੯

हिंदी की भाषा में इस भाषा का उपयोग है।

ਜੇ ਮੰਨਣਾ ਉਹ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁਰਖ ਦੇ ਹੀ ਹਾਥੀ ਹਨ ਤਾਂ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।

શ્રી સત્યજીત સિંહ

ਪ੍ਰਸੰਨ ਨਗਰ ਪੁਰਖ ਕੀ ॥

५२३३ (१५२३) ३३ (१)

सुदामा उवाच ॥

$$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$$

新書

શ્રી જ્યોત્સના કમલ મર્ચન્ટ, શ્રી જંબુજીવન

These enemies of Dharma and Sikhism miscall themselves as Nirankaris and their leader Gurbachan Singh claims to be God incarnate. These people consider physical luxuries, comforts and pleasures as the aim of human life. Disavowing their faith in the 'SABDA GURU', the DIVINE WORD, as the spiritual ENLIGHTENER, which is the apex of a religious doctrine, they preach the worship of the physical form of gurus. They oppose the spread of moral values on the plea that vice and virtue are nonsense concepts of man. This preaching of theirs is a grievous attack on all the religious and moral codes of the world. The Panth cannot but accept this challenge.

Therefore, under the seal and authority of Sri AKAL TAKHT, this EDICT is issued to all the men and women of the Sikh fraternity and other men of religion that they should oppose this organisation of enemies of religious values and otherwise harmful to mankind, by all possible and legitimate means. It should not be allowed to spread and expand in society and in the world. The Khalsa Panth must cut off all worldly relationships, matrimonial and social, with such misled Sikhs, who have become Nirankaris and with their leader, Gurbachan Singh.

This is the EDICT of Sri Akal Takht Sahib. Whosoever abides by it will be honoured in this world and the next.

The Guru has ordained :

“Worship only the Timeles God ;
follow the WORD alone ; and
Envision the Guru in the
body corporate of the KHALSA.”

SEAL OF SRI AKAL TAKHT

Dated, 28 Jeth, 579 NANAK ERA

10 JUNE, 1978

Sd/- Sadhu Singh
Jathedar

Sri Akal Takht, Sri Amritsar

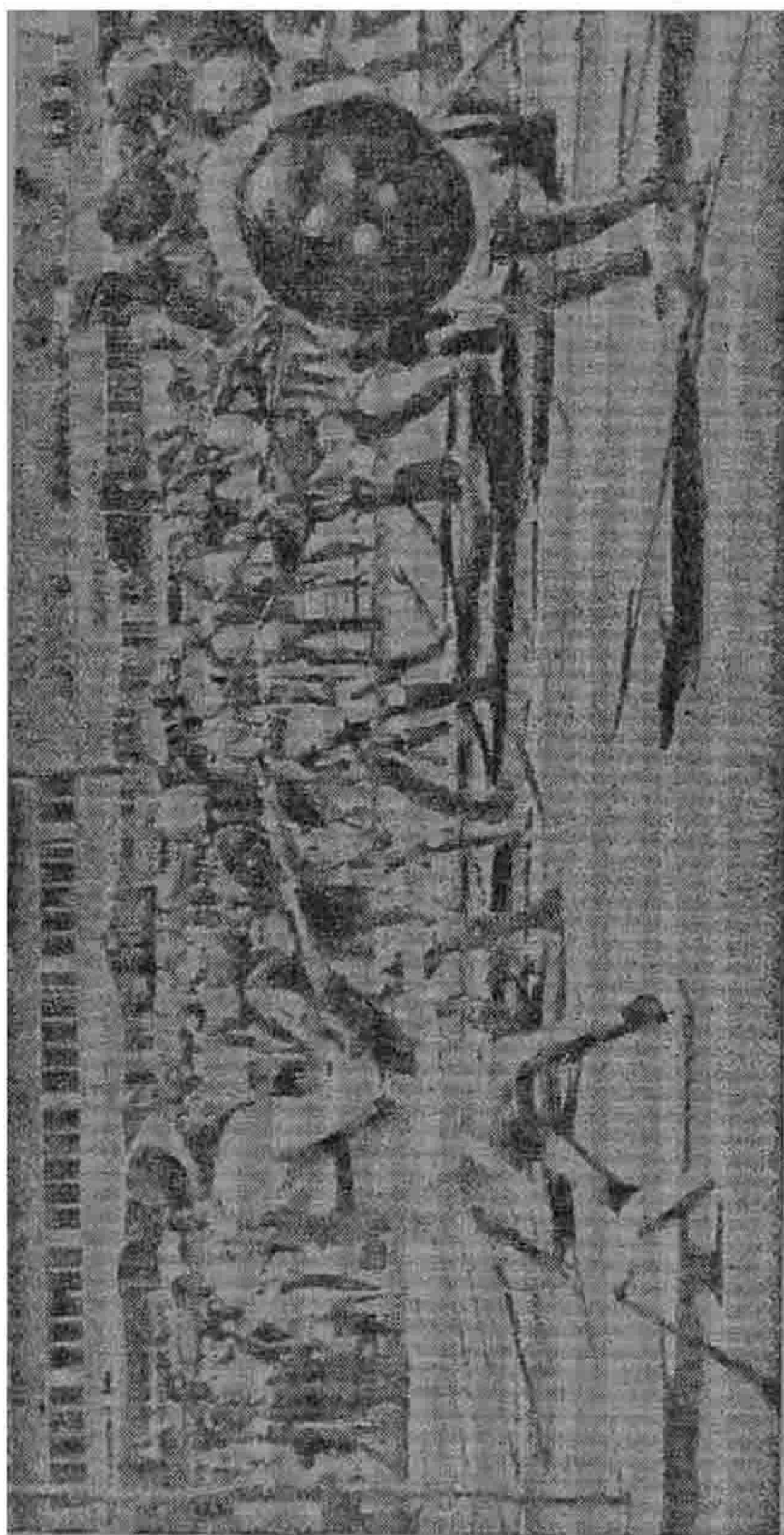
APPENDIX F

(Ref. paragraph 29)

Naqli Nirankari Nihang



Naqli Nirankari Nihang



APPENDIX H

(Refer to paragraph 21)

In the main body of this compilation, there is a particular emphasis on a point. Deducing from the Centre's initiative of starting and patronising the fake Nirankari movement as a means for rubbing off the organised religio-cultural-cum-political separate entity of the Sikh Panth, there is an inescapable inference. After successfully manoeuvring to rope in the Sikhs not to insist on securing any independent territorial status during "The Great Divide", the Delhi authorities of independent India, have ever been ill-at-ease to cold-shoulder the Sikh community's aspirations to rehabilitate and maintain their separate historic entity.

In this very context here is a brief recount of facts, enumerated by Sardar Hukam Singh, ex-Speaker of the Lok Sabha, as to how the Centre has been consistantly apathetic towards the Sikhs anxiety, even for a minority status and rights, ever since 1947.

This article of Sardarji in two consecutive instalments in the 'Spokesman' Weekly, New Delhi, its 15 and 22 May, 1978 issues, may be usefully and profitably read in conjunction with the contents of Appendices C and D herewith :

SIKHS DENIED MINORITY STATUS SINCE PARTITION

Now a minority commission has recently been announced by the Janta Government. It is composed of one Parsi (chairman), one Muslim and one Christian.

The Sikhs feel pre-plexed as to why no Sikh has been included. There have appeared articles in the Sikh press; resolutions have been passed by representative bodies; deputations have been led; and pleadings done, but to no effect.

Our Muslim brethren are not yet satisfied with having a representation only. They want chairmanship. The Sikhs only have desired representation. They are not worried about the chairmanship. They would not even aspire for that. But all protestations, supplications, petitions and pleadings, however prolonged, well-argued or reasoned have been answered in simple 'No'. The highest authorities would not add a third letter, much less a second word.

This is natural to cause disappointment, but there should not be any surprise. The policy of Indian government, since independence, whatever its complexion presented and whichever the cloak it has worn, has been to absorb and assimilate the Sikhs, and not to give any recognition by which they might further prolong their existence as a distinct community. There has always been lurking fear that the Sikhs might some day ask for the exercise of self-determination and a separate homeland. Lord Mountbatten and his staff conceived this idea, alerted the Indian rulers against such a possibility, and created fears about such an eventuality, which have been haunting the minds of the majority community.

Soon after partition, it was believed that Mountbatten had suggested to Nehru that the Sikhs shall have to be kept under watch, as they have failed miserably in political parleys to get anything and so they were sure to feel frustrated when the consequences of partition become known to them. The Governor-General expressed his views that, after migration, there was probability of Sikh concentration in East Punjab and a possibility of their demanding a homeland which could be difficult to deny. Whether this was all oral talk, or any part was reduced in writing, no one could say. But strong rumours were afloat in knowledgeable circles about this suggestion. In such circumstances, direct evidence is not possible to dig out, but indications of such thinking troubling the minds of Governor General's colleagues can be traced in "Mission with Mountbatten".

"If partition has meant increased economic sacrifice for the Sikhs, it also entails political concentration. Lying within easy reach of Delhi, they may comprise, after the migration, some fifty percent of the total population of the new East Punjab (Mission p. 71-72, Sept. 23, 1947).

"Informed observers see in this situation all the ingredients of a Sikh nationalist movement, and consider that already the solution, which has been mooted of creating a new Indian province of Sikhistan, fails to measure up to Sikh demands" (Mission P. 172).

This fear of political concentration and the presence of "all the ingredients of a Sikh national movement" lurked in the minds of the Indian leaders and the same influenced the policies of the government, resulting in discrimination against and suspicion about this minority.

That such was the actual thinking of the top brass becomes clear from the open statements of Pandit Nehru, slanted declarations of Sardar Patel, and frank enunciation of Dr. Ambedkar.

When in early February, 1948, Sardar Ajit Singh Sarhadi, along with another friend, who was intimate with Dr. Ambedkar, approached the Minister to tell the tale of woes at the behest of Shiromani Akali Dal, and narrated that the Sikhs had been the greatest sufferers of Partition, Dr. Ambedkar disclosed what he thought about it. Replying to the Sikh friend Dr. Ambedkar, made out :—

1. "In the entire united Punjab, you were 13% of the population;
2. You were at the mercy of the two communities;
3. You played an equal role.....but politically you were nowhere;
4. Today after this migration, though forced, you Sikhs have been the greatest gainers;

5. Your community...has come to be in majority in the Six Sikh States...
6. You are likely to be in majority, or are already in majority in eight Districts of Jullundur Division.
7. Here is an area of nearly fifty thousand square miles, where you will be in majority.
8. Your community, for once in the history of 400 years, has a homeland;
9. Hereafter you have a territory with majority. You have a language of your own, traditions, history and heroes. You have got a religion, common bond among yourselves, and by all canons of nationhood, you are a people having a homeland; and yet tell me that you have suffered terribly...

The concluding portion of Dr. Ambedkar was more frightening. The Sikhs had never thought or even imagined on these lines, but the Central Government-it can never be conceived that what Dr. Ambedkar was expressing to his Sikh friend was his own exclusive view, not held in common with his colleagues in the government including Nehru and Patel-was suffering from the fear of Sikhs exercising the right of self-determination and even opting out of the union. Dr. Ambedkar made no secret of these fears, and explicitly observed :—

“History depicts that sufferings have always been undergone for such objectives. How long would any party in India be able to crush you or treat you badly when you have got a territory of your own, which on the admitted and accepted principles of self-determination, can opt out if the exigencies of time and situation demand. (Punjabi Suba by Ajit Singh Sarhadi, p. 146, 147).

What the actual position emerged after partition is thus stated.

In partition parleys, “at least one minority (Muslims) had won everything it had hoped for. The leaders of the Muslim

League, and the leaders of the Congress had won, in one case, not all that they had hoped for, but in the final analysis, more than either had expected." (Last Years, Page 183).

Naturally "Jinnah was over-whelmed with his success. Congress, on the other hand, was crestfallen, and rather ashamed at having lost its fight for an undivided India." (Mission, 183)

"The Sikhs had lost everything they valued, their homes, their property, irrigated rich lands, and their holy places (p.184). The Sikhs realised no one seemed to care very much what happened to minorities so long as the Congress and the Muslim League were satisfied. Jinnah probably did not care, while Nehru and Patel were not particularly interested".

Immediately after partition, the Sikh leaders tried their best to assure the Indian Government and the Congress Party that they (Sikhs) did not want any separate State, but only safeguards to live as equal citizens, with respect and honour, and not as underdogs of democracy.

1. On 20.9.47, on being asked by Pandit Nehru, Master Tara Singh, crest-fallen as never before, replied in the negative. He did not ask even for any linguistic adjustment of boundaries (Curzon to Nehru by Durga Das).
2. On 28.9.47, Master Tara Singh promised: "We shall continue to support the Congress and the union government in its task of reconstruction (India's Minorities, Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting).
3. The same day, addressing a press conference, Master Tara Singh made it clear that "a bogie of Sikh State in Punjab is being conjured up by the Pakistan propaganda machinery in order to create dissensions between Hindus and Sikhs..." he emphasised that "Hindus and Sikhs will rise and fall together."
4. In October 1947, S.A.D. President Gian Kartar Singh, addressing a press conference in Jullundur, declared that the Sikhs would not ask for any separate representation

if suitable safeguards were provided for (Punjabi Suba by Ajit Singh).

5. On 17 March, 48, the Shiromani Akali Dal directed the Akali legislators, elected on communal electorates by fighting against the Congress in 1945, to merge in the Congress legislative parties, both at the centre and in Punjab, thus effacing their separate entity and distinct political identity.
6. On 24.4.48, speaking in the annual conference of the Sikh Students Federation, Master Tara Singh stated that the Sikhs wanted to preserve their identity and self-respect. The Hindu should realise that the elimination of Sikhs would be harmful to the Hindus themselves.
7. Lord Mountbatten asked whether Sikh motive "was the objective to set up a Sikh State", Mr. V. P. Menon replied, "No Politically, they had lost all and had not even gained Jullundur division (Mission p. 160. Sept. 15, 1947)".

"While the Sikh leaders are at great pains to describe the Hindus as their brothers, there are not many outward signs of brotherly love, and Tara Singh has been almost equally vehement in his dissatisfaction with the East as with the West Punjab Government." (Mission 23.9.47, p. 171).

In spite of his disillusionment, Master Tara Singh went on making his attempts to persuade the Hindu leaders to believe that the Sikhs only wanted safeguards against any tyranny or discrimination, and not any separate state. But the Congress had got scared of possible concentration of Sikhs as conceived and imagined by the Mountbatten Secretariate (Mission p. 171-172) and firmly believed and horribly feared by the Indian leaders, as disclosed by Dr. Ambedkar, who had envisaged the impossible eventuality of Sikhs legitimately getting a separate state on the principles of self-determination with a chance of their opting out of Indian Union.

If Dr. Ambedkar's thinking be accepted as the mirror of Indian leaders' minds and there is no reason why we should not, then all subsequent policies of discrimination against Sikhs, assaults on Punjabi language, disowning of mother tongue by Punjabi Hindus, suspicion about patriotism of Sikhs as expressed not merely by Jan Sangh and Arya Samaj but also by Nehru, Patel and other top brass, reduction of Sikh representation in army since partition, and misrepresentation of even a cry of anguish into a fissiparous tendency can well be understood and appreciated.

These suspicions, entirely unfounded, remained the basis of the government policies and communal Hindu majority's behaviour towards the Sikhs. The anxiety of the Hindus to suck back the Sikhs into their omnivorous belly was another factor that influenced the formulation of policies of the government and the attitudes of the communalists. When the Sikhs were "at great pains to describe the Hindus as brothers"; what was the response from the other side ? It is an amazing tale.

1. When the Sikhs had thrown their lot with Hindus, and Master Tara Singh had declared unequivocally that the Sikhs did not want any separate state but would rise and fall with Hindus, even, then Durga Dass suggested to Nehru to enquire from Tara Singh whether he wanted Khalistan. In that situation and under those circumstances such a suggestion was adding insult to injury. But the amazement was that Nehru had himself put this question to Tara Singh a day earlier, and the latter, "crestfallen as never before", had replied in the negative. This was nothing but humiliating a fallen friend, and disgracing a betrayed minority.
2. A deputation of Hindu leaders, soon after partition, in Sept. 1947, waited on Nehru and urged upon him against letting the Sikh problem assume serious proportions, while the Sikhs were giving pledges that there was no Sikh

problem at all. This was another instance of manipulated suspicions to deny justice to the Sikhs.

3. Mahatma Gandhi, in his post-prayer speeches, began denouncing the Sikhs as "mad and drunkards" during August and September 1947 when Sikhs were arriving in India, having lost everything that they valued. These prayer speeches might have comforted the Muslims in India and pacified their rage against Hindus, but infuriated Pakistanis already there and other Muslims migrating from, or living in India against the Sikhs.
4. On Sept. 7, 1947, in regard to suggestion of Mountbatten for banning kirpan carried by a Sikh, "Nehru and Patel stood firm about the Sikhs, and there is to be a ban on all weapons." "I will not tolerate Delhi becoming another Lahore", Patel declared and Nehru added: "I am clear in my mind, kirpan may have to be taken away." (Mission page 153).
5. On August 5, 1947, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan demanded "that the Sikh leaders be arrested..." It was not done because "to stop Sikhs now, it would have been necessary to arrest the whole community" (Last Years p. 227) otherwise the Congress leaders did not demur.

Though the :

- (i) demands of Jinnah and Liaquat for the immediate arrest of Sikh leaders ;
- (ii) the suggestions to disarm the Sikhs and impose a ban on Kirpan ;
- (iii) the willing preparedness of Nehru and Patel to ban Kirpan ;
- (iv) the slanderous vituperation of Gandhiji during his prayer speeches, immediately after recitations from Gita, Koran and Bible, calling Sikhs mad and drunkards. letting non-Sikhs imbibe hatred and ill-will against the Sikhs.

Could not materialise into a speedy and effective punishment of the Sikhs, as Mr. Jenkins, the retiring Governor of United Punjab, Mr. Mudie and Mr. Trivedi, the Governor-designate of the West and East Punjab respectively, unanimously expressed fears that any action taken at that moment would exasperate the Sikhs and goad them to desperate actions, which would defeat the very objective of protecting the Muslims.

Yet all these moves had the cumulative effect of formulation of a policy to be followed by the central and Punjab governments in respect of dealing with Sikhs. This policy found expression in the issuance of a directive by the Punjab governor to all district magistrates to keep a strict watch on the Sikhs, as, according to this policy letter dated 10.10.47, these were likely to commit crimes against the life and property of the peaceful citizens.

How the Sikhs were being forced out of West Punjab was evident by the letter sent by Governor of West Punjab, Mr. Mudie, to Jinnah dated September 5, 1947 :

“I am telling every one that I do not care how the Sikhs get across the borders ; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible.”

Thus driven and haunted out by West Punjab, received with suspicion and kept under watch in the East Punjab, discriminated against in every walk of life, the Sikhs felt bewildered. When the spirit of the East Punjab government policy letter permeated into the minds of the services, which were already communal, and formed 90 per cent of the administrative machinery, the fate of Sikhs in services became unenviable. And when the religious sermons of Gandhiji, denouncing the Sikhs, reached every home through broadcasts, the Sikhs began to be looked upon as criminals.

Where was the comfort to be found, the Sikhs wondered. The Sikhs' heart pulsated with fear and apprehensions about their future when they heard ~~the~~ bold declarations of some

members inside the constituent assembly that "there was no minorities now" and the loud shouts of 'Hindi', 'Hindu', 'Hindustan' in the streets, giving evidence of what was to come.

The communal Hindu press, which dominated the framing of Hindu opinion, having been freed from their fight against Muslims, now directed their machines of virulent propaganda against the helpless Sikhs. Any sober voice, such as, no patriotic Indian should deny the patent reality that the political feelings of the Sikhs have been grievously outraged...was ignored. The Hindu communalist tried to ridicule and revile the Sikhs.

The advice of Nanak Chand Naz that "to ridicule this psychology of this Sikhs (that they had been betrayed from every side) or to look down on it, is not good politics or the warning of Dr. Ambedkar that the minorities in India "have loyally accepted the rule of the majority, which is, basically a communal majority and not a political majority. It is for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against minorities" (C.A. Debates Nov. 4, 1948)—all were decried. The vernacular press had started a calculated campaign of vilification against the Sikhs since the day of partition; they have not only maintained it, rather they have accelerated the movement.

Dr. Ambedkar declared that no minority had asked for partition after August 1947; Patel conceded that Master Tara Singh has assured full cooperation to the Union Government in its task of reconstruction; Nehru admitted that Tara Singh had declined to seek any separate state; Giani Kartar Singh endorsed that the Sikhs would not ask for any state if safeguards were given; S.A.D. directed the Sikh legislators to join Congress, and they did merge themselves to lose any distinct identity; but, in spite of all this, the Punjab vernacular press continued a systematic campaign of vilification thus:

"The issue would be: How much of the East Punjab should go to the Hindus and how much to the Sikhs? Before we can decide this, we shall have to find out the total population of the East Punjab and then divide it in proportion to the popu-

lation of the two communities". (The Jai Hind, Jullundur, 6 August, 1948).

"If this province is to become the homeland of the Sikhs (no Sikh had asked "for homeland), then all Hindus living here should be told so. Those, who want to shift further inland, will do so. Those, who decide to stay here, will know under what circumstances they are to live here." (Hind Samachar, 4th August 1948).

"Outwardly he (Master Tara Singh) is advocating a separate province for the Punjabi-speaking people, but really he is favouring the establishment of a Sikhistan in between Hindustan and Pakistan..." (Milap). How this inwardly in Tara Singh was x-rayed by the editor is not told when Nehru had been expressly replied by Tara Singh that the latter wanted to live with Hindus and had no desire for a separate state.

The Pratap of Jullundur was forthright: "I want to address the Akali friends that the way they are treading, leads to Turkistan..." (Pratap, Jullundur 11-9-1948).

This vilification was not confined to the vernacular press alone. The English dailies, with communal editors, did not lag behind. The 'Tribune' in its leader of Oct. 5, 1948, commented.

"It was only yesterday that we drew attention to the dangers of leaders (Tara Singh and others) narrowing their minds and giving to their community or their province - the allegiance that they owe to their state."

This could mean that a Sikh could not be an Indian. He had to chose between the two. This editor believed "Sikhism" and "Patriotism" were incompatible.

The 'Hindustan Times', which represented the Government point of view normally, wrote in the leader of October, 1948 :

"If those, who argue on the lines of Master Tara Singh believe that by holding together as a community they can hope to establish their communal dominance there is no room for such parties within the Indian Union."

The uniformity of language and the identity of thought at the same period of time is very significant. The 'Pratap' wrote that Tara Singh's way led to Turkistan. 'Tribune' reminded Sikh leaders of giving allegiance to community. He thought Sikhism and patriotism incompatible. 'Hindustan Times' said if Sikhs wanted to hold together as a community there was no place for them in the union. The undertone is the same. If the Sikhs desired to live in India, they should cease to think as a community.

This was the real crux of the Sikh problem that has baffled solution during all these years. The majority community is bent upon liquidating their identity, and the Sikhs have been trying to foil those manoeuvres.

Let us trace the sequence of manoeuvres that were adopted to deny safeguards to the Sikhs, which the leaders had been asking for.

With the setting up of constituent assembly, "when the question arose whether adult franchise should be introduced, Maulana Azad advocated its deferment for 15 years, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Nehru plumed for adult franchise as an act of faith. The vote favouring it was carried amidst acclamation".

Defeated in his first endeavour, "Maulana Azad wanted reservation of seats for the Muslims and other minorities within the framework of general electorates. Patel opposed such safeguards. Nehru left it to Patel to jump the hurdle as chairman of the advisory committee."

Patel himself was against any safeguards; Nehru left it to Patel to achieve his objectives. How deftly Patel discharged this assignment is a revealing process-taking a step, giving one shock, making a halt to let that be absorbed; after some time administering another, then taking respite; but meanwhile persuading, manoeuvring and even coercing a few members to espouse his cause and help him march further reach his goal. Ultimately he achieved his goal. Christians helped; Muslims were helpless;

Sikhs were coerced, and the Scheduled Castes and Anglo-Indians had secured what they wanted – Scheduled Castes taken out of the list of minorities and made part of Hindus.

The Anglo-Indians were especially lucky. They were favoured because the English interceded for them, and the Indian leaders were impatient to get power whatever the cost.

How the fears of Sikhs concentrating and of carving out a homeland for themselves, and even the visionary phantom of their opting out, influenced the leaders in their actions and attitudes can be judged from what follows :

In pursuance of para 20 of Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16, 1948, an advisory committee for minorities was constituted under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel on January 24, 1947. There were six Sikhs—Sardar Baldev Singh, Sardar Jogendra Singh, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Sardar Harnam Singh, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Giani Kartar Singh included in the committee of 50.

Sardar Baldev Singh was a minister and took no part. Soon after the constitution of the advisory committee, Sardar Harnam Singh became a judge of the high court; Sardar Jogendra Singh could not take any interest ; Partap Singh concentrated his energies on consolidating his power in Punjab Congress, Sardar Ujjal Singh and Giani Kartar Singh, though diverted to Punjab Assembly, did not participate in advisory committee proceedings but had ceased to be member of the constituent assembly. Hukam Singh and Bhupinder Singh Mann were sworn in on April 10, 1948, as members of the assembly but were never included in the advisory committee which took all decisions and which were to be approved by the Assembly at the instance of Sardar Patel.

The Advisory Committee recommended :

1. Elections on joint electorates, with reservations of seats according to population.
2. No reservation in cabinet, but conventions to be created for adequate representation of minorities.

3. In services, claims of minorities to be kept in view.
4. An officer to be appointed by the President at the centre, and by each Governor for his state to report to the legislatures about the working of the safeguards.

The advisory committee submitted a supplementary report regarding Anglo-Indians and providing for special concessions.

In the report of 8th August, 1947, the case of Sikhs was held over in view of the uncertainty of the position of the Sikhs pending the Radcliff Award. But when this report was considered in the constituent assembly on August 27, 1947, the award had been announced on August 17, the movement from West Punjab of Hindus and Sikhs had begun, but the relative proportion of Sikhs and Hindus could only be known after migration was completed. There were fears that the Sikhs "may comprise, after the migration, some fifty per cent of the total population of the new East Punjab", the leaders felt concerned more for the Hindus, and turned the deferred case of the safeguards for the Sikhs (a minority) into an issue of East Punjab (a state). For this manoeuvre, Mr. K. M. Munshi moved an amendment approved by constituent assembly on August 27 (C.A.D. August 1947, p. 246).

"In view of the special situation of East Punjab, the whole question relating to it would be considered later."

When a Muslim member raised a point of order how can a question of minority (Sikhs) be converted into a question of territory (East Punjab), he was over-ruled by the President that there were other minorities also in East Punjab. It was Hindus alone, beside the Sikh minority. This became evident that the change was intended to protect Hindus if by chance according to misapprehensions thus entertained, the Sikhs became a majority in East Punjab."